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The Shape of Things

AS THE COVER OF THIS WEEK'S ISSUE SUGGESTS, *The Nation* feels optimistic about the outcome of the election. Tests of opinion all over the country show a recent rapid upswing in pro-Roosevelt sentiment, and the big registration in politically important centers must be taken as another sign of a probable Democratic sweep. But under all surface appearances run invisible currents whose strength cannot easily be measured. Strangely enough, one of the least certain factors in the campaign is the behavior of the Democratic Party itself. Its total inertia in certain key fights is all too evident. While the Republicans issue frantic last-minute appeals to the voters to save the country from the sinister union of Roosevelt, Hillman, and Browder, some of the Democratic leaders act as if they were worried about the same thing. There are Democratic politicians who would undoubtedly be glad to see the President defeated if that would kill the influence of the Political Action Committee and the liberal elements in the party. The attitude of the Catholic Church is another uncertain factor. It is definitely known that reactionary Catholics have been fighting a bitter under-cover campaign against Wagner in New York, echoing Curran's dishonest attempt to smear the Senator with charges of communism and subservience to organized labor. Influences such as these may not be strong enough to stop the rising Roosevelt tide. But they should be watched. And whatever the result of the election, they provide evidence of that trend toward a new inter-party alignment of reactionary forces which was developing in and out of Congress long before the campaign began.

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SENATOR GERALD P. NYE, NORTH DAKOTA'S ultra-isolationist, is meeting opposition such as he has never encountered since he first ran for the Senate eighteen years ago. Nye has been engaged in a bitter three-cornered fight. His Democratic opponent is Governor John Moses, who has proved an extremely able vote-getter in the past. Lynn Stambaugh, former national commander of the American Legion, who lost to Nye in the Republican primaries by less than a thousand votes, is on the ballot as an independent. Stambaugh has conducted a more vigorous fight than Governor Moses, whose campaign was interrupted by an operation. Both have attacked Nye's record as an isolationist, but Stambaugh's views on domestic policy are probably no more liberal than Nye's. Whether the three-cornered battle is a help or hindrance to the campaign against Nye is debatable in view of the complexity of North Dakota politics. North Dakota is normally a Republican state, but it is evident that Stambaugh will cut deeply into Nye's Republican fol-

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lowing. When Governor Dewey visited the state, both candidates accompanied him, and both have been accorded recognition by the Republican National Committee. On the other hand, the division in the anti-isolationist vote will probably help Nye. So far the contest has been extremely close, with any one of the three a possible winner. Reports from the state indicate that Senator Langer and the Non-Partisan League, both opposed to Nye, may swing the election at the last moment by throwing their support to the opponent with the best chance of winning.

*

PEOPLE WHO BOAST OF BEING HARD-HEADED are frequently the most soft-headed people in the world. Consider the National Association of Manufacturers. It is sponsoring amendments to the state constitutions of Arkansas, California, and Florida, to be voted on November 7, which would give those states more labor trouble than they have had since 1932. The provisions and the language of the amendment are strikingly similar in all three states. The California version begins, "Every person has the right to work, and to seek, obtain, and hold employment, without interference with or abridgement of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization." If an individual's "right to work" is so abridged or impaired, relief at law can be had "upon the complaint of any person or upon complaint of the district attorney" of any county. Such an arrangement would outlaw every closed-shop contract and probably every union-shop contract, and would seriously impair labor's right to strike. And this, of course, is the intention of its sponsors. In Florida the amendment is supported by the big fruit growers, in Arkansas by the Christian American Association, and in California by the Associated Farmers, whose activities have been described in a report by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor entitled "Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor." The California Chamber of Commerce takes a more realistic attitude. It opposes the amendment on the grounds that it would make for serious labor trouble and interfere with war production.

*

INTERESTING FIGURES ON HOW MR. DEWEY'S "Roosevelt depression" has ruined business and impoverished the American people are provided by the "Economic Almanac" published recently by the National Industrial Conference Board. This conservative sourcebook reveals that corporation earnings in 1937, 1939, 1940, and 1941—the four best pre-war years under the New Deal—were actually one-third greater than in the last four years of "Coolidge prosperity." The total for the four New Deal years was $39,355,000,000, as compared with $29,862,000,000 in 1925-28. Employment was greater in 1940 than in 1929, and retail sales in Mr. Roosevelt's eighth year were not only more than double those in Mr. Hoover's last year but were 16 per cent larger than at the peak in 1929. The most significant index of national economic well-being, as portrayed in the Almanac, is the estimate of annual per capita income, adjusted for changes in the cost of living. In 1929 this reached a top of $681 and then receded drastically. In 1940, under New Deal "defeatism," it rose to $694, and in 1941 soared to $792. This is the record, as attested by the leading research agency of American business, which Mr. Dewey was referring to when he declared in his Philadelphia speech that "there was never a worse job of running the government of this country in all of its history."

*

WHILE JAPAN'S FLEET WAS BEING SUNK OFF THE Philippines, the war in Europe continued in that "dour and hard" phase so eloquently bespoken by Mr. Churchill. The Germans seemed to have recovered everywhere from their disorganization of the summer, and the circle about the Reich was constricting only slowly. The Allied armies in Italy were measuring their advances in feet and regarding their casualties, in an apparently unproductive campaign, with ever-increasing bitterness. The German withdrawal from Greece was masterly as usual, and the British found it difficult to maintain contact. Increased resistance and over-extended supply lines held up the Russians in Southeastern Europe; the central eastern front remained static, while the all-important battle for East Prussia seesawed amid the Masurian Lakes, which cannot be by-passed and must be cleared before the central-front offensive gets under way. In the west the Allies made their best gains heading away from Berlin, not toward it; an arduous British-Canadian drive finally broke the German line from the sea to 's Hertogenbosch, forcing the enemy in slow retreat over the Maas and the Waal, behind which strong defenses are undoubtedly prepared. This action, together with the gradual clearing of South Beveland, left Antwerp open for sea traffic except for the enemy battery on Walcheren Island, at the mouth of the Scheldt estuary. The Germans are certainly worse off than they were six weeks ago, but October is gone, and with it the best hope of victory before winter.

*

THE RECALL OF GENERAL JOSEPH STILWELL represents a severe setback in the United Nations war against Japan. General Stilwell's command was the key to the collaborative efforts of the United States, Britain, and China in the Far Eastern struggle. His extraordinary patience, thoroughness, technical skill, and knowledge of China made possible achievements that could not have been attained by any other American military leader. In his single-minded desire to see the war advanced as rapidly as possible it was inevitable that he should have differences of opinion with both Chiang Kai-shek and Admiral Louis Mountbatten. His clashes with Chiang were the more serious because, of necessity, they impinged on the political conflicts within China. Stilwell always insisted that the distribution of American lend-lease supplies be decided on military rather than political grounds. Anxious to prevent American supplies from being a factor in China's internal struggle, he sought to have them distributed impartially to all groups actively engaged in the war against the Japanese—including the Communists. He was also dead set against permitting Chinese political influence to disrupt the military efficiency of the units under

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his command. He fought graft and corruption wherever he found them. All this, of course, made him immensely unpopular with the reactionary political groups in the Chinese high command. While the immediate factors behind his removal are obscure, it would appear that we have abandoned our efforts to revitalize China's military contribution to the war. This will not only have far-reaching effects on basic military strategy, but strengthen the anti-democratic forces within China and delay, possibly for years, the solution of that country's political crisis.

First in War, First in Peace

THE real issues have emerged in the late stages of the campaign. President Roosevelt, speaking at Soldier's Field in Chicago on October 28, said: "We are fighting this war and we are holding this election, both, for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy." The American people are fighting to destroy those forces which, in a world grown small, menace the very existence of democracy. The war today is the major concern of American democracy. It is not yet won and the cost to be paid is still great. The election provides an opportunity for the American people to give their verdict on the record of their war leaders. It is significant that no fundamental charge of dereliction in its war responsibility has been brought against the Administration by its opponents. The frivolous accusation that in pre-Pearl Harbor days it neglected to prepare the country for war is contradicted by the facts and the record. It comes strangely from a party whose leaders in Congress and outside, from the days of Mr. Roosevelt's quarantine speech in 1937, have accused the President of war-mongering and attempted to block every effort that would have secured us against totalitarian aggression.

It is sound practice in time of war to avoid shifts in command, civilian or military, if the war is going well. The only reason to justify such drastic action would be that in some other major sphere, foreign policy, for example, the Administration was demonstrating incompetence. And while Mr. Dewey has made that charge, we cannot be persuaded that he has made a strong case.

It might have been different had the Republican candidate been Mr. Willkie. We are frank in saying—as we have frequently said in the past—that in many important respects Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy has been unsatisfactory. Here is an issue that might well have been brought out into the open during the campaign. Are we fighting this war for the total destruction of fascism or are we planning to exempt certain island havens for fascists, like Franco's Spain? Are we really concerned about rebuilding democracy in Europe? If so, why are we so lukewarm to the fighting democrats, the armies of liberation? What sort of post-war world is being molded by our foreign policies? These and other similar issues would undoubtedly have been debated on a high level if Mr. Willkie had been chosen as the Republican standard-bearer.

If Mr. Willkie had been chosen. . . . But Mr. Willkie was not chosen. He was repudiated. And it was on such issues and the equally pressing issue of unequivocal American participation in the post-war world organization that he was repudiated by the party which chose Mr. Dewey in his stead. Wendell Willkie had a program for the Republican Party which might have become the American program. But they refused it as they refused him. "There has hardly been a sadder episode in our political history," writes R. L. Duffus in the New York *Times Book Review* of October 29, "than the chilly silence, the stony and inarticulate fury, manifested by the dominant leaders of a great party when Mr. Willkie uttered these simple thoughts."

Thomas E. Dewey was the choice of those who destroyed Willkie—the Vandenburgs, McCormicks, Tafts, Nyes, Hoovers—the isolationist Old Guard. Now Dewey, a man with his heart set on the Presidency, found no difficulty in proclaiming his devotion to a world organization and giving his blessing to the Dumbarton Oaks agreement. But Dewey, the political opportunist par excellence, found it equally easy to endorse as a candidate for the Senate one of the country's inveterate isolationists who had opposed the important measures of preparedness and support to the Allies taken by the Administration before Pearl Harbor. Put Dewey's speech in favor of Senator Wylie of Wisconsin over against Wendell Willkie's heartbreaking Wisconsin campaign and you have a fair measure of the two men. And you have a fair idea of the influences which would dominate American foreign policy should Mr. Dewey be elected. Whatever the President's defects in this field, he has never wavered in his fight against isolation and in his faith in a world organized for peace.

On the domestic front, the next Administration will face an even greater economic task than that faced by Mr. Roosevelt's first Administration in the worst days of the Great Depression. The cost of failure would be chaos and distress exceeding that of the early thirties. The post-war economic problem can be stated in terms of production and employment: the utilization of the vast productive potential now harnessed to war objectives in order to provide plenty and security to sixty million American workers and their families.

HOW MANY TERMS?

The weightiest interests of the country require that if the people find a man they can trust they should, if they please, be able to keep him in his place as long as they find him useful; and the reform which most of all is needed in American politics is the creation of a disposition to apply this to all offices from the Presidency down, and the extirpation of the notion that in a highly organized society like ours anything is gained by change for the sake of change. . . . For if the people be not competent to select a candidate for an office so conspicuous as the Presidency, and if after he has served for four or eight or twelve years they are not competent to decide whether it is wise or safe to try him again, on what point of policy or legislation can the popular judgment be trusted?—THE NATION, FEBRUARY 17, 1876.

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It is fair to say that both candidates have emphasized this task as the greatest that the next government will have to tackle. Mr. Roosevelt has the advantage of being able to point to his Administration's impressive record of economic reconstruction during the depression, the extension of social security, and the development of such great public enterprises as the Tennessee Valley Administration and the Grand Coulee. He can say with the conviction of experience that such a program, amplified to meet the increased post-war needs, will form the basis of his domestic policy. It is quite true that this program during the thirties did not eliminate unemployment, as Mr. Dewey has so frequently reminded him. Nevertheless, the limits to his success were placed by basic factors in the capitalistic system with which he chose to temporize rather than by the inefficiency of the agencies he set up or the radical nature of his economic policies. Mr. Dewey, for his part, has indicated that he would not scrap any essential Roosevelt reform but it is safe to predict that he would view with even greater awe the venerable and deeply lodged institutions of capitalism that Mr. Roosevelt left inviolate.

Of one thing we are fairly sure: neither party is apt to evolve any drastic or revolutionary post-war plan, nothing, for example, as "socialistic" as that recently outlined by Mr. Churchill's Conservative-dominated coalition government in England. Whatever the average American may fear from Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Dewey, he need not fear socialism. Both men and their parties are firmly wedded to the capitalist, free-enterprise system. Indeed, we fear that this tender regard for capitalistic folklore and mores will be a serious handicap in solving the post-war economic problems.

As between the attitudes of the two protagonists it is a matter of emphasis. But the difference in emphasis is important. The ghostly hand of Mr. Hoover appears in Mr. Dewey's domestic policies just as the ghostly hand of Mr. Dulles is evident in his foreign policies. The "interests" will get the better break from Mr. Dewey; the people—the farmers and the workers—the better break from Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Dewey, though accepting the Roosevelt social and labor legislation, is basically against controls and for free enterprise. Mr. Roosevelt, accepting free enterprise, is basically a planner. He has seen social and economic planning work in peace and war. He is realistic in seeing government firmly established as a shareholder in the economic prosperity of the country. He believes that it is the major responsibility of government to take the steps necessary to bring about full employment, the full utilization of natural resources, and full social security. We shall see more social planning, not less, in the next term of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The war itself has convinced him of the value of planning production and distribution in terms of specific objectives.

One of the most grimly amusing of Mr. Dewey's arguments has been that under his leadership Congress will display a unity that has been utterly lacking in the later phases of the present Administration. Now the fact is that in the conduct of the war itself there has been no serious disunity: even the obstructive tactics of the Republicans ended with Pearl Harbor. In foreign policy, while the opposition was most vocal in the days of the isolationist-interventionist struggle, it has smoldered along and recently emerged in the revisionist attacks of Vandenburg and LaFollette on American commitment to an international body with power to act against an aggressor. In regard to domestic policy, Mr. Dewey is right: unity has been sadly lacking. The attack by Republican Congressmen and Southern Democrats on the Administration has been unrelenting and has already seriously damaged plans for civilian controls in wartime and for the reconversion of our economy to a peacetime basis. But Mr. Dewey's solution for Congressional-Presidential unity gives his whole case away. It means, if it means anything, that the common ground on which Congress and the President will meet will be chosen by the dominant group in the Republican Party—by Vandenburg, Nye, Wylie, and Taft in the Senate; by Martin, Fish, Dirksen, Hoffman in the House. It means that Republican legislators will behave like patriotic citizens only if they can do so in support of a Republican President. Otherwise they will sell out their country's interests without a qualm.

This sort of political blackmail is peculiarly shocking at a time of crisis like the present. It throws doubt on Mr. Dewey's fairest-sounding promises, on his many professions of high principle. It offers perhaps the best reason why so many Americans of independent political opinion will vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt next Tuesday.

America and Franco

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TWO years ago next week American troops disembarked on French soil in North Africa. This first land assault on Nazi-occupied territory was a hazardous venture and one of the gravest dangers it faced was the possibility that Franco's army in Spanish Morocco would cut off our one overland communication route across North Africa. No one there made the mistake of considering Franco a trustworthy neutral. The American Fifth Army was held on the border for almost a year to protect our supply route and the rear of our military operations. This was the chief service Franco performed for his German ally at the critical hour of invasion: by containing an entire American army he delayed Nazi defeat in North Africa for many months.

But this service was only one of many. In a half-dozen North African towns Franco's consulates were the headquarters of the Nazi supply system behind our own lines. Specifically, in Algiers, Oujda, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbès, Casablanca, and Marrakesh Nazi agents to the number of several hundred operated from the offices of Spanish consuls, themselves also in the service of the enemy. And because of our "friendly" relations with Franco, not only were the American authorities unable to put a stop to the espionage, but couriers passed freely from these offices, under the protection of the United States army, to deliver their reports in sealed pouches to Hitler's agents in Melilla and other Nazi espionage centers in Spain.

Britain and the United States justified their continued dealings with Franco on the ground that open hostilities with Spain might bring disaster to our whole operation by cutting the main sea route through the Straits of Gibraltar as well as overland communications in North Africa. Any price was

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worth paying, they maintained, to keep Spain out of the war on Hitler's side. So Franco was able to collect immense blackmail both in the form of oil and other supplies and in diplomatic support.

Meanwhile Spanish Republicans in North Africa, who had risked their lives along with French sympathizers to prepare the way for the Allied landings, were quickly jailed by the French fascists who came to power after our deal with Darlan. They stayed there for months.

Was this price worth while? I don't want to argue that here, although I believe a consistent anti-fascist policy from the start would have made the question unnecessary. I am ready to suppose, for the sake of my major point, that the blackmail we paid Franco was justified in 1942. We were trying to supplement our limited military resources with every variety of diplomatic deal. But what is the situation today?

In the two years that have passed the German armies have been driven out of Africa and are in retreat on every front in Europe. The balance of military power has shifted overwhelmingly to our side. The land bridge between Franco and his Nazi friends is in Allied hands, and Spain is isolated. Except as a nuisance, the Spanish dictator is of no military importance one way or the other.

Of course, Franco does all he can to help Hitler. Despite his continued pretense of "true" neutrality, he goes right ahead, with a certain impressive stubbornness, supporting the great "anti-Communist crusade" to which he dedicated his efforts in 1936. To the limited extent possible, he still uses Spain as a base of German operations. The impressive list of the kinds of help being rendered Germany by fascist Spain, published the other day in Walter Winchell's column, added much specific detail to a picture whose general outlines are well known. But for all this Franco is less a military menace than a danger to the professed political aims for which we fight.

On another page of this issue J. Alvarez del Vayo places Franco in his proper political setting. His chief value to Hitler lies in his services to international fascism. Spain provides a port of embarkation for fascist propaganda and other weapons of political penetration now and after the war. Today, as always, the Spanish fascists are actively at work to perpetuate and spread anti-American feeling and pro-fascist intrigue throughout Latin America. In this they have the unqualified support of reactionary clerical elements—support Hitler could never fully command.

Washington knows this. And it knows, besides, that Franco's power is threatened by an earthquake of popular resentment; in all parts of the country the people are moving. It was inevitable that when France shook off its Nazi-fascist chains, Spain should do the same. Only the other day Ambassador Hayes for the first time reported to the State Department that unrest was rising. The very existence of an armed force of Spanish anti-fascist fighters across the border in France has stirred the hopes of the repressed and suffering people of Spain.

We are on the edge of a new Spanish war. And this one, like the last, will be the crucial test of Allied policy, will determine for good and all whether our armies are fighting merely to defeat a rather too aggressive national state or are fighting to wipe out an international threat to freedom and democratic institutions.

So far State Department officials have met inquiries about American policy toward Spain with a bland denial that anything much was going on over there. And the newspapers have carried a report from George Tucker of the Associated Press saying that first-hand inquiry had failed to reveal any evidence that Spanish fighters in the French *maquis* had crossed the border. But the weight of evidence is on the other side. From Madrid have come numerous dispatches reporting armed clashes between Franco's troops and the Spanish guerrillas from across the border. It was announced only the other day that Franco had sent General García Valiño, the army's chief expert in mountain warfare, to command the forces in the north. It is known, too, that the unrest inside Spain is taking the form of organized guerrilla fighting, especially in the south and in the mountains of Asturias, Santander, and Navarre. Whatever may be the impression of one or two American correspondents, the mass of reports coming in from Toulouse, from Madrid, from London, and from the left press in Paris leaves no room for doubt that Franco is facing the first general threat to his power since Hitler and Mussolini set him up in their line of business.

How shall we behave, what will be our policy in the new Spanish war that is about to begin? Shall we recognize this time which side is our side? Or shall we help fascism maintain itself in Spain while we send our soldiers against the armies of fascism in Germany? So far there are no signs that we intend to drop Franco. So far it looks as if we may already have used our enormous influence—we and the British—to induce De Gaulle to accept a Franco ambassador. So far American policy seems to be—as in 1936—one of fixed support of British policy; and British policy seems unalterably directed toward preserving reactionary elements in control in the countries bordering the Mediterranean. Every move made by Britain in Greece and in Italy indicates continued support of Franco in Spain—or of an equally reactionary substitute when Franco can no longer be propped up with money and oil and diplomatic favors.

But meanwhile Spain will once more become a political catalyst precipitating the forces of reaction and change in each country. Mr. Churchill, I predict, will find rough going if he tries to revive the old farce of non-intervention on the stage of 1944. There are dock workers on the Clyde and miners in South Wales who still look on Spain as the sovereign test of the political meaning of this war; and many far less revolutionary members of the trade unions and the Labor Party will share their resentment if the government upholds Franco in a new struggle in Spain. He may risk this anger, counting on his power as war leader to carry him through. But at least he will have to decide whether a reactionary Spain is worth the price he will have to pay for it.

And what about the United States? We are specifically pledged by the President to the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of the Four Freedoms everywhere. And in this case our material interests coincide most directly with our pledges of decency. Franco today is the enemy of all we plan and fight for, particularly in Latin America. He is

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of no use to us whatsoever. If we continue to support him, in defiance of our principles and of our obvious interests, it will be either because we have underwritten British policy in the Mediterranean or because we share the Vatican's views on the way to bring order to the peoples of Europe. Or both.

I do not know the answer, but it is certain to emerge soon in some official action or expression. The State Department will not be able to lie low and say nothing for very long. There are no briar patches left for American diplomacy to hide in.

How to Predict the Loser

BY J. K. G.

LAST time, I suppose there were quite a few people who guessed that Franklin D. Roosevelt would be elected again. In my case it was not a question of guessing. I knew. You see, I had a system that was bound to work. And when the returns were all in I was wrong in only one state.

If you think back, in 1940 everybody was saying that it was going to be a nip-and-tuck affair. Through the summer Gallup gave Roosevelt a bare edge—51 per cent on August 4 and 51 per cent on August 25. Then Roosevelt went ahead. The Battle of Britain was on, and isolationists did not speak about our inviolable shores with quite the same assurance. By September 20 Roosevelt was in the lead with 55 per cent and by October 6 had 56 per cent. Then came the Willkie spurt. On Gallup's showing, between October 6 and November 3 Willkie's vote had risen from 45 per cent to 48 per cent. It looked like anybody's race.

Those were the days when the zealots on both sides made enthusiastic and reckless promises. A Democrat would say that "if Willkie won he would move up to Alaska." And a Republican would insist that "if That Man got in again he would clear right out to a South Sea island like Truk or Saipan—right off the map."

Even the New York *Times* was caught up in the spirit of the thing. Here are a week's headlines:

October 27: VOTE SURVEY FINDS WILLKIE GAINS
Gallup Reports Increases in 23 States, with ½ per cent Rise in Popular Vote for Him.

October 29: STATE FOR WILLKIE, SURVEY FINDS
Gallup Test Finds Republican Upswing has Given Nominee Slight Lead in Race. But President's Visit May Turn Tide Again in New York, Study Holds.

October 30: TRENDS TO WILLKIE ACCELERATED IN NATION, SURVEY FINDS
Analysis Gives Roosevelt 53 per cent of Popular Vote to 47 for Republican and 1½ per cent Gain for Latter. Neck-and-Neck Finish Forecast.

November 2: WILLKIE GAIN SEEN IN THREE MORE STATES
But Trend in Michigan Starts Back to the President, Gallup Survey Finds.

November 3: ELECTION RESULTS IN DOUBT, SURVEY OF NATION SHOWS
Close Popular Vote Likely with Landslide in Electoral Count Possible Either for Willkie or President Roosevelt.

November 4: RESULT IN BALANCE—GALLUP SURVEY
Study Closed Yesterday Noon Indicates 52 per cent for President in Popular Vote.

Well, there you had it. It was anybody's guess. That is, it was anybody's guess who did not have a system that would predict accurately. Now, anybody who knows anything about it will tell you that any good system of predicting—whether in horse racing, roulette, or elections—is made up partly of hunch and partly of science. Gallup was all right as far as science went, but he couldn't afford to introduce the element of hunch. For instance, he took three good columns in the *Times* of November 4, 1940, when his last release went out, to explain the chances and probabilities entering into the likely result. And at the end he concluded it was a toss-up; and that's just where we were at the start. At the same time Gallup was pretty useful as a basis for the system and particularly useful when it came to those states where a few points either way would upset the result. Gallup himself warned that 3 or 4 per cent had to be allowed as a margin of error. So I listed those states that showed between 47 and 53 per cent for either candidate:

	Willkie	Roosevelt
Connecticut	47	53
Idaho	51	49
Illinois	52	48
Massachusetts	49	51
Michigan	52	48
Minnesota	49	51
Missouri	51	49
New Jersey	48	52
New Hampshire	51	49
New Mexico	47	53
New York	51	49
Ohio	51	49
Pennsylvania	51	49
Wisconsin	52	48
Wyoming	47	53

Now, these states commanded quite a sizable chunk of electoral votes. Taking the final Gallup poll at absolute face value and allowing no margin for error, the electoral vote for all states added up to Willkie 248, Roosevelt 283. A shift of eighteen votes away from Roosevelt would give the election to Willkie. A shift of a substantial number of these states would mean a landslide one way or the other.

This was the point at which I fell back on my hunch. I figured that the national situation really called for the re-

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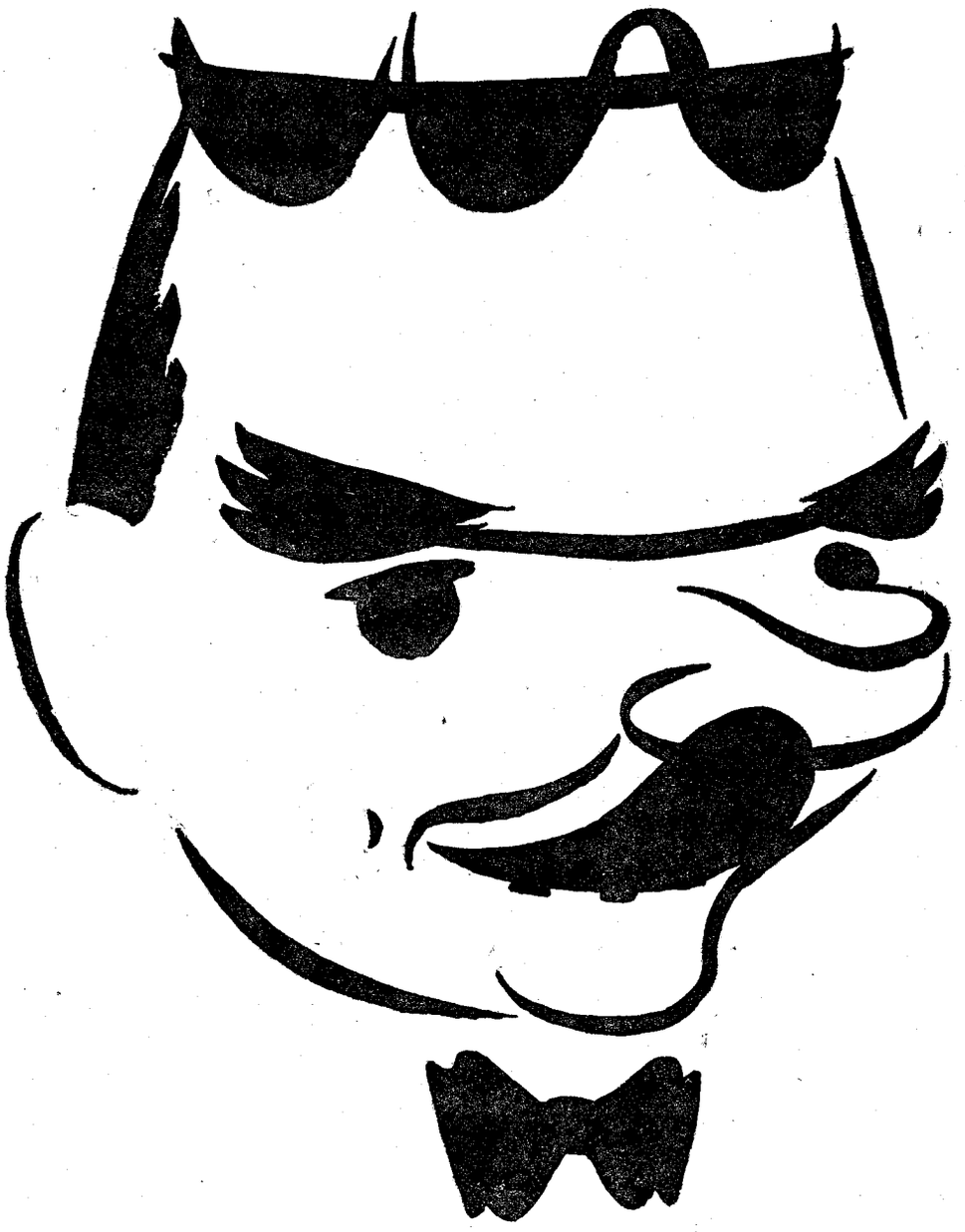

Drawing by Eva Herrmann

"Little Man, What Now?"

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election of the President. It was bound to be tough going in the years ahead, and I had a feeling most people thought the same way about it. Willkie was a big man, all right, but he had come up fast and had not really established himself by the time people came to vote. Then I knew the country was pretty worried about the isolationists who had crowded into the Republican camp. So I had a strong hunch that Dr. Gallup's margin for error could safely be counted for Mr. Roosevelt.

That's where I put it—all of it, the whole 4 per cent, adding it to Mr. Roosevelt's vote in the pivotal states I had down on my list. The result was rather spectacular. With one lusty sweep I moved Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania over from Mr. Willkie's column into Mr. Roosevelt's. In a minute I had stolen no fewer than 185 electoral votes from Mr. Willkie and given them to Mr. Roosevelt. It was a good job. From a neck-and-neck race, the election was converted into a win-in-an-easy-canter for the President.

As I said at the beginning, I made one mistake. Michigan, after days of counting and recounting, finally came down in the Republican column by 6,926 votes. However, who was I to complain? The system worked.

Well, this time again it looks like a close race. In the poll of October 27 Dr. Gallup gives his estimate of the popular vote as 51 per cent for Roosevelt, 49 per cent for Dewey. A few days before, the *Fortune* poll gave Roosevelt 53.5 per cent against Dewey's 46.5. The newspapers are carrying the headline: PRESIDENCY RACE IS NECK AND NECK.

The states listed in my 1940 column crop up again. The margin is a little narrower; but the picture is essentially the same. Gallup brings a few more states into the pivotal category: Kentucky, Delaware, Oregon, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Maine. For the states in my 1940 list the Gallup 1944 percentages are these:

	Dewey	Roosevelt
Connecticut	48	52
Idaho	52	48
Illinois	52	48
Massachusetts	50	50
Michigan	53	47
Minnesota	53	47
Missouri	51	49
New Jersey	52	52
New Hampshire	51	49
New Mexico	51	49
Ohio	53	49
Pennsylvania	50	50
Wisconsin	54	46
Wyoming	53	47

There are a lot of electoral votes in those states and the other pivotal states listed by Dr. Gallup. For the entire poll of October 27 the Dewey column adds up to 255 electoral votes, the Roosevelt column to 206, with 70 electoral votes evenly split. I have a hunch that this year, too, a few intangibles may have been missed in the sampling. And then, there is that margin of error. I have just tried adding 4 to the Roosevelt column of percentages. The result is rather spectacular!

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE POLL-TAX SCANDAL is again attracting attention in Pennsylvania. The constitution of that state makes the payment of such a tax within two years one of the requirements for the qualification of a voter, but it was found long ago that a great many men would rather go without voting than pay it. Then the campaign committees began to pay such taxes, and the practice has now reached such dimensions that the two party machines in Pennsylvania have this year purchased 95,000 poll-tax receipts. . . . Theoretically there is a good deal to be said in favor of such a qualification for the suffrage, but practically it seems to work more harm than good wherever it is retained.—*November 1, 1894.*

MR. McKINLEY IS FILLING a large space in the newspapers at the present time, but the common remark of the Republican politicians is that "he is not in it." This is a comprehensive phrase, implying that the Governor of Ohio is struggling for the Presidential nomination of his party, but that he has not the ghost of a chance.—*November 1, 1894.*

"GLIMPSES OF UNFAMILIAR JAPAN," by Lafcadio Hearn. . . . Living among a people so simple in their tastes and habits as the rural Japanese, Mr. Hearn, who suggests the literary chameleon, has absorbed the form and color of his environment. . . . No other artist, paint he in words or in pigments, has so thoroughly succeeded in catching and fixing those Japanese traits which are so elusive, yet so ingrained and innate.—*November 8, 1894.*

THE CAPTURE OF PORT ARTHUR by the Japanese promises the speedy close of the war. . . . China has led a precarious existence for years, owing to the enormous number of European and Western speculators who want to "develop her resources," and they will get at her eventually; but nobody supposed that Japan would put in the entering wedge. —*November 15, 1894.*

THE ROUND ROBIN READING CLUB offers to individuals and classes a discriminating and personal guidance in the study of Literature. (ADVT.)—*November 15, 1894.*

THE CRITICS OF FOOTBALL last year, although much abused, had sufficient influence on the amateurs of the game to bring about a change in the rules. We were told that the game had been made more "open," and that the Napoleonic operation of breaking the enemy's ranks with a "wedge" would be no longer resorted to; that more reliance would be placed on agility and less on avoirdupois. But the new football appears to be very like the new Tammany: "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*" The game on Saturday at Springfield between the two great teams of Harvard and Yale was by the testimony—unanimous, as far as our knowledge goes—of spectators and newspapers, the most brutal ever witnessed in the United States.—*November 29, 1894.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Charles Kingsley, "Hypatia"; Maurice Maeterlinck, "Pelléas and Mélisande"; John Muir, "The Mountains of California."

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The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE Second Battle of the Philippines will undoubtedly rank as one of the decisive naval engagements of history; one wishes for a new Mahan to interpret its significance. This particular infantryman can only whistle his admiration for the gallant sailors and fliers, Australian as well as American, who have cut the Japanese fleet's effective strength by 50 per cent, thereby reducing considerably the probable duration of the Far Eastern war.

The United States Pacific Fleet has been waiting for this showdown battle for almost exactly two years, ever since the Japanese suffered their last major defeat off Guadalcanal. We wanted the battle not simply for the pleasure of sinking enemy ships but for the freedom of action we would gain in the Pacific. Because the Japanese would not give battle, we had to cover every major Pacific operation with a force large enough to engage the entire Imperial Fleet, should it venture forth. Thus the true strategic function of the enemy's fleet-in-being was to tie up major elements of our fleet strength in the job of guarding every amphibious force that moved forward; conversely, the true strategic significance of this great victory is that amphibious blows can now follow more frequently and over a wider area, since the Pacific Fleet will be able to cover each force with a smaller number of vessels.

Last week's victory was so overwhelming that it is easy to overlook the very real danger we were in and the very real chance of success the Japanese possessed. (A commander necessarily takes risks; if he wins he is a hero, and if he loses he is a villain. If the fog had not suddenly lifted over the Prince of Wales and the Repulse that day in December, 1941, leaving them naked to Japanese aircraft, Admiral Tom Phillips might have ranked with Nelson.) The Japanese admiral who ordered three naval forces to converge on the Allied ships off Leyte has probably committed hara-kiri by now, but he might have become another Togo had it not been for the amazing performance of the American fleet train, the daring calculations of Admiral Kinkaid in the south, and the persistent skill of Halsey's and Mitscher's fliers in the north.

The fleet train's performance meant that Halsey's Third Fleet was still ready for combat after more than a month away from base, sweeping through Japan's "basic sea area" like a typhoon. The main Japanese force came down from Formosa or the home islands intending to drive the supposedly battle-exhausted Third Fleet away from its covering position northeast of Luzon. But planes from Mitscher's Task Force 58, attached to Halsey's command, got into the air first and sank four enemy carriers and two cruisers, and probably sank two battleships. The other ships sunk or probably sunk make this perhaps the greatest achievement of carrier aircraft in this war.

Meanwhile Admiral Kinkaid, with his Seventh Fleet tied close to Leyte Gulf by the necessity of covering the amphibious forces, still half at sea and half ashore, received intelligence that two enemy forces were converging on him; one through the Sibuyan Sea and the San Bernardino Strait south of Luzon; the other through the Sulu Sea and Surigao Strait, between Leyte and Mindanao. Thomas C. Kinkaid—a name to remember—instead of waiting in Leyte Gulf to meet two attacks, split his force and made two attacks. Some of Mitscher's planes helped handle the San Bernardino force. While Kinkaid's escort carriers were battling off the east coast of Samar, his surface fighting ships moved into Surigao Strait, where with the aid of MacArthur's planes they destroyed the entire enemy force of sixteen ships, including two battleships definitely sunk. The final score showed that the Japanese lost twenty-four ships, with another thirty-four probably sunk or damaged; the United States lost the light cruiser-type carrier Princeton, two escort carriers, two destroyers, and a destroyer-escort. MacArthur's planes sank some enemy transports retreating southward to Singapore, and Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force flew out from China to sink at least one destroyer as it headed back to supposed safety—a nice index of the constricting circle about Japan.

Plane losses are not yet tabulated, but the enemy lost at least 150 aircraft to Kinkaid's fleet alone. How many of these were shore based is not known, but one of the remarkable factors in this great battle was the failure of shore-based aircraft to play a decisive role. The Japanese commander must have counted on them heavily, or else he was a fool to send ships into two such constricted channels as the San Bernardino and Surigao straits—which narrow to five and four miles respectively—but they failed to provide the required cover. In balance, the battle should dispel any lingering beliefs that a carrier force operates disadvantageously in contact with land-based air power. The quality of the weapons and of the fighting men is what counts.

The immediate result of this famous encounter is that the liberation of the Philippines is assured. The enemy is said to be fighting only rear-guard actions on Leyte, but these may continue for some time. The quick sweep up Samar gives weight to Major Eliot's suggestion that the enemy division there may have been moved across to Leyte, where it is doomed. The defeat of the fleet further suggests that there will be no important reinforcing of the islands, while MacArthur will be able to draw on his own reinforcements up to the full capacity of available ships.

Meanwhile Halsey and Kinkaid, with Spruance and the Fifth Fleet still in reserve, are freed for operations elsewhere. The possible advance from Saipan to Formosa, mentioned here last week, now becomes a probability of the near future. The Volcanoes and Bonins, on the direct road from the Marianas to Japan, are likewise tempting. Beyond these lie the home islands and China, one or both of which will certainly be reached a good deal sooner than was possible before last week's battle. I hope someone will reconcile General Stilwell's New England obstinacy with Generalissimo Chiang's more subtle Methodist outlook; Vinegar Joe is the ideal man to press home that final victory.

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The C. I. O. Looks Ahead

BY PHILIP MURRAY

WE IN the C. I. O. have learned there are many things affecting the welfare of the worker and his family which cannot be solved by collective bargaining alone. We know that questions of social insurance, taxation, education, public and private health, and other matters must be fought out in legislative halls.

So we have extended our fight for democracy from the workshop to the polling place. We are not intimidated from organizing politically to campaign for the ends which we believe are right. After all, the current slander against the Political Action Committee is not so great as the malicious campaign carried on in 1937 and 1938 against the organization by the C. I. O. of the great masses of industrial workers. We managed to survive that!

Our enemies are complaining because we are effective. Even though they disliked our convention resolutions about political and legislative objectives, they really did not begin to worry and rant until we started an organization to make those resolutions mean something in actual achievement.

I will assert the Americanism and patriotism of the members of the C. I. O. against any of its detractors and defamers. The C. I. O. will yield to no one on its record for advancing the cause of democracy. In its struggle to make the peace fulfil the desires of men of good-will, who is showing, day in and day out, a greater concern to preserve and extend the institutions which have made the United States a great nation?

Some three years ago our organization published a plan to win the war. That plan set out in graphic fashion certain practical, constructive, workable details which encompassed the creation of industry councils—that is, a council in each of the major industries, composed of representatives of business, labor, and government, to prepare the production schedules of the given industry for war purposes, to provide the means whereby necessary expansion could be made, to increase the production of essential war goods, to establish and build plants in communities where the need for them was evident.

The plan suggested, in addition to the creation of industry councils, a National Production Council to coordinate the work of each of the industries, so that the practice of duplication might be prevented and rules established which would provide to each of the industries maximum efficiency.

The plan was turned down at that time, but out of it, of course, grew the labor-management committees which have been created in so many war plants all over America. Through these committees, management has often been able to make use of the ingenuity of the workers to accelerate production and increase efficiency and thus to hasten the successful conclusion of the war.

The creation of a National Production Council, together with industry councils, to map out plans for maximum production and efficiency in all the plants throughout the country during the post-war period is just as essential now as it was three years ago, when it was originally presented to the government of the United States. Labor does not seek protection in the narrow sense of the term. Labor will get all the protection it wants if every worker who wants a job and is able to work can get a job at decent wages and under proper working conditions.

There is a certain tendency abroad in the land to define the phrase "full employment" so as to befuddle and confuse rather than clarify. By full employment I mean that every person who wants employment can get a job for which he is qualified. I don't mean, and I don't believe any sincere advocate of full employment means, that there ought not to be one solitary unemployed person. We have full employment today, and there are upward of a million people who are out of work on some given day of the month. These are workers who are temporarily unemployed—not at work because they are changing jobs, or because they have personal reasons for being away from a job. Those people are trying to obscure the issue who insist that every last person must be on a job before we attain full employment. Those who advance this point of view are using it as a stepping-stone to the conclusion that only under regimentation and dictatorship can there be full employment.

This is malicious nonsense. Any unemployment that exists because a worker himself chooses to be away from his job is not serious because only a relatively few people would be involved and only for short periods of time. Moreover, full employment in peace time is something different from full employment in a war period. All reasonable people realize that we deliberately utilize certain groups of workers during a war who are not in the labor market in peace time, including housewives, students, retired people.

There is also a lot of upside-down talk about free enterprise and government responsibility. Often, the very people who most loudly condemn government consideration of unemployment as a problem, and who allege that free enterprise alone can resolve the question, are the ones who for themselves participate in market quota systems, international cartel arrangements, and tariffs—frequently with government support.

"Free enterprise" is being used as a convenient slogan to attack government enterprise which benefits the common man. The issue of whether government shall function in our economy or not is a false one. Government enterprise and government controls are in our economy to stay. The only question is the extent of government participation, the precise role that government is going to play in our economy.

The C. I. O. does not contend that only government can produce jobs for all, just as we do not believe that unbridled competitive business can do so. Nor does labor have a royal road for easy achievement of these desirable ends. We contend that each group has a contribution to make, and that

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there must be teamwork on the part of labor, industry, and government in organizing production around an over-all national plan and component industry plans. Labor, management, and government got together successfully to produce the weapons for victory. We can stick together to build an enduring prosperity.

Destructive as war is, we can discern some positive gains. Now we know how great can be the volume of production, and that it can be raised even higher. In the face of an all-compelling national purpose, the myths of business-as-usual have been swept away in our pursuit of maximum production. The necessities of war have demonstrated that only mental stubbornness has heretofore prevented the full utilization of our human and material resources.

The masses of people have come to understand this point. They have come to understand idle man-power and idle facilities as anti-social and perhaps immoral. It has seemed important that every man and every machine be put to some useful work. That attitude is going to carry over into peace time. People are going to ask—in fact, they are asking now—if we have been able to do all these things in war, why can't we do them in peace? Can a job for everybody who wants one be achieved only by the awful destruction of war?

Now we know from experience that certain essentials can be assured to everyone, regardless of race, color, or creed: a job at union wages, or a farm, business, or profession that provides a regular income; a well-built home, properly equipped with all the facilities of living and decently furnished; good food, clothing, and medical care; good schooling for children, with an equal chance for all for healthy and happy growth; an adequate income, through social insurance, in case of sickness, old age, early death of the wage-earner, or unemployment.

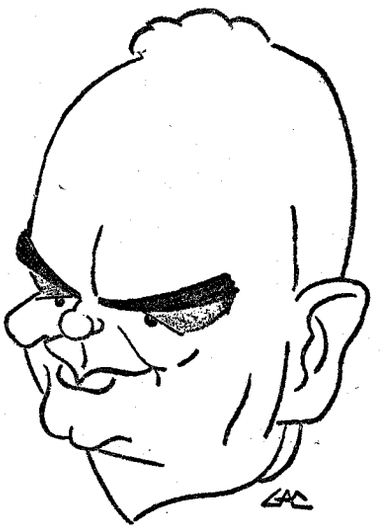
This desirable and attainable goal for every American cannot be accomplished by private business alone. Government must accept the responsibility for securing and maintaining full production, which is the only way we can attain this universal minimum security.

There is a false notion that war goods were manufactured because government placed limitations and control upon private business, after which business was forced to accept war orders. The present cry is that government should remove all controls at the end of the war emergency and business will come through with everything that is needed. The real contribution of the War Production Board was not that business was limited in its use of materials, or controlled in its product, but rather that definite goals were set and all plants and facilities, materials and man-power were coordinated to produce the military goods called for by those goals.

In the post-war period the mere release of controls will not bring maximum production. We must continue to use the War Production Board method of setting goals, and cooperatively combine our intelligence and resources to achieve them. The elimination of poverty, like the elimination of foreign enemies, is necessary to bring real security.

Business spokesmen like to declaim about "a favorable climate for business." There is no more favorable climate than the assurance of a market. With government withdrawing purchases of a hundred billion dollars a year at the end of the war, there must be consumer demand to equal and exceed the expenditures for war goods. The guaranty of a market for the maximum volume of business can be provided through a National Production Council, mentioned above, with functional representation of labor, industry, agriculture, and government. Such a council—with its component industry councils—could plan for those levels of production required for maximum employment. There would still be room for enterprise to top these goals and advance to new heights of prosperity. The purchasing power thus created would guarantee the consumption of the products.

Government must provide the vehicle through which national planning can be accomplished. All branches of organized labor supported the Murray-Kilgore-Truman bill in the United States Senate during this past spring and summer. The George bill that passed is a pale imitation, and the Congress still has the duty to provide effective planning legislation.



Drawing by George Corrado

Philip Murray

There is a common mistake of compartmentalizing in one little cubbyhole our domestic problems and in another cubbyhole our international problems. Is there any question in anybody's mind what the effect will be of another world depression? The continued prosperity of Americans is directly tied to the prosperity of the people of all other nations. There must be a vigorous, long-term program of international commerce, and the federal government must be involved constructively. Economically and in every other way the United States will emerge from this war as the most powerful nation in the world. Perhaps more important, events in the United States will be of great significance to the rest of the world. We know there can be no peace for the United States with other nations at war. It is equally true that if reaction in the United States should become dominant it would constitute a staggering blow to international stability and well-being.

The organized labor movement since its beginning has been in the vanguard of human progress. The unions which make up the C. I. O. will be a force through which millions of workers will seek continually to improve their conditions of working and living. High wages, low prices, good quality, and large output are the ingredients of a prosperous peace. I submit that the time has passed when the American people will accept worn-out slogans for the realities of economic and social security. They have seen—and have participated in—a miracle of production performed for war. They know that we have the cooperative intelligence and the material and human capacity to make the same and greater achievements for peace.

[*This article is the address delivered by Mr. Murray at the* Nation *conference in New York on October 8.*]

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Destroy Franco Now!

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AGAIN we arrive at the point of departure. Again Spain flares into the news, reminding a world that too easily forgets that this war is a single, indivisible struggle in which frontiers are less important than ideas and political power is at least as important as military power. The guerrillas fighting Franco both inside Spain and across the French border afford new proof, if any were needed, that an attempt to confine this war within national frontiers and conventional diplomatic procedures will mean just one thing—the survival of fascism after the military defeat of Germany.

To those who understand the real character of fascism, it has been obvious that it would try to secure its place in the post-war world. That is the principal reason why I have always believed that the Nazis would offer stiff resistance to the Allied offensive and that the war in Europe would last longer than people generally supposed. Reports about atom-freezing and plague bombs and other German secret weapons may be regarded with skepticism, but the expressed determination of the Nazi leaders to fight until the end is neither a propaganda trick nor a theatrical gesture.

The situation became perfectly clear after July 20. Until that date, it was still possible to argue that a conflict between the army and Hitler might bring about the collapse of the Nazi regime. But such speculations had to end at the moment it became evident that the party had won and that the heads of generals were rolling without provoking a revolt within the army. It is certain now that every passing month will strengthen the control of the party and the Gestapo over the rest of the population. Moreover, it is clear that if the road to Berlin is not opened with the same speed as was the road to Paris, Nazi leaders will gain time to transform the war of armies into a guerrilla war and to direct the Nazi movement underground.

From this point of view Nazi resistance is not as senseless as some observers make it appear. It would be inconceivably stupid if the aim were a negotiated peace. Although German information services may have deteriorated, Berlin must know that feeling in Great Britain, in the United States, and in Russia is opposed to a negotiated peace. Even arguments for a "soft" peace evoke a hostile reaction in the United States. Nazi resistance would be equally absurd if it were founded on a hope of dividing the Allies. The recent conversations in Moscow between Churchill and Stalin have proved again that an irreparable rift among the three major Allies is inconceivable as long as the war against Germany goes on. No, German resistance makes sense only as an expression of the determination of the Nazis to outlive a military defeat.

Fascism's hope of survival has been nourished by the Allies' failure to develop a consistent democratic policy in the conduct of the war. It was evident long ago that there was something more than "military expediency" in the willingness of the Allies to deal with notorious fascists. At any rate, it could no longer have been military expediency after Hitler's armies began to withdraw in successive defeats. It was rather "political expediency," clearly designed to prevent revolution in Europe.

Encouraged by this outlook, fascism prepared to continue the fight. Two years is not too long for such preparation. Every underground movement in the occupied countries has required that much time to gain real strength and efficiency. But the underground movements in the occupied countries have a limited objective—to sabotage the armies of occupation and to purge the nation of quislings and native fascists. The underground movement which the Nazis are creating has a much more ambitious aim: to keep the fight against democracy alive not in one country but everywhere; politically to sabotage the peace so that after a few years fascism will again feel capable of attempting world domination.

The Nazis began to organize an underground at the end of 1943, when defeat on the Russian front made ultimate victory begin to seem improbable. They intensified their activities when the Allies landed in France. But it was not until the Anglo-American armies reached the German frontier that Hitler publicly proclaimed the guerrilla war as a natural phase in the "people's war." As the Nazis visualized it, the "people's war" served a double purpose: to repair as far as possible the painful deficiency in reserves, and to plan the transformation of the regular armies into a guerrilla force while the battle of resistance was still being waged. Hitler needs the winter of 1945 for that.

Considered in this light, German resistance is not merely a futile Wagnerian gesture. It fits perfectly into a political plan. It confirms the theory of those of us who have maintained from the beginning that this war, more than any other, is as much political as military. If the Allies had waged the war with a clear determination to destroy fascism and to establish democracy everywhere in the world, these plans of Hitler's would be doomed to the same fate as his military strategy. Under existing circumstances Hitler is hardly a fool to hope that fascism may survive military defeat. He sees well-known fascists being used by the Allied authorities in administrative posts in the liberated parts of Italy. He can even look at Germany, where American military authorities have appointed as the new mayor of Rötgen, one of the first cities to be conquered, a man who is described in the New York *Times* as "an opportunist and pro-Nazi." Hitler knows that nothing which has happened since 1939 has changed the minds of people who occupy key positions in Allied administrations. There are men in the State Department and in the British Foreign Office who only a few months ago were telling their friends that if the Spanish war began again they would take the same position they held before—in favor of Franco and against the "reds." Surely Hitler has reason to believe that not all is lost for fascism when influential persons in the American industrial and financial world talk,

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privately but unhesitatingly, about the certainty of a new war—this time against Russia.

Any weakening of the European movements of resistance would play into the hands of fascism and help it to rise again after the war. Even from that point of view a few more months of fighting in Germany may prove extremely useful. Had the war ended in the autumn of 1944, the resistance forces in France would have been strong enough to influence the political processes of Europe. In Italy the powerful republican movement would not have been obliged to waste a large part of its strength in fighting the maneuvers of those who want to save the House of Savoy at any cost. Everywhere the underground elements, fortified by the prestige of their decisive contribution to victory, would have been able to demand a strong anti-fascist policy from their governments.

Six months more of war, waged inside Germany, may be utilized by reactionary elements in the United Nations to reduce the forces of resistance in the rest of Europe. Once the countries have been liberated and the military phase of the struggle is over, there will be an ever-growing chorus of voices insisting, in the name of "order" and "reconstruction," that the forces of resistance retire from the political scene. Even now, in the reaction of a part of the Allied press to the belated recognition of De Gaulle, it is easy to discern a certain feeling of confidence that the head of the Provisional French Government will repay the generosity of the Allies by suppressing the restless *maquis*. For my part, I feel certain that the people will frustrate these reactionary plans—assuming always that the forces of resistance refuse to allow themselves to be disarmed and betrayed. But it is perfectly understandable that the fascists should gamble on reactionary success.

Propaganda very similar to that spread in the days of "better Hitler than the people's front" is again beginning to be heard. For example, the surprisingly few acts of violence committed in France and Italy and Greece have been terribly exaggerated in the press. There are people who see "the hand of the Soviets" in every demand of the hungry populations for more food or for the nationalization of certain basic industries or for the punishment of traitors. The propaganda is either of fascist inspiration or it expresses the irresponsible attitude of reactionary interests which are willing to play into the hands of the fascists in the hope of maintaining their own power. In either case it may produce the same misconceptions among the middle class as did the propaganda against the Loyalists during the Spanish war.

For its survival after the war, fascism requires bases from which to operate. Hitler may continue to resist for six months, perhaps a year, but it is mathematically certain that one day all Germany will be occupied by the Allies and disarmed. At least during the first years after the war severe controls will be imposed. Fascism needs bases outside the area of military occupation; Madrid and Buenos Aires are the two which have been selected.

The maintenance of these bases under reactionary dictatorial regimes is indispensable to fascism. One year of fascist dictatorship in Argentina has given excellent results. But Buenos Aires alone, without contact with Europe, cannot serve fascist plans. Madrid is also vital. Thus a little dictator who has 90 per cent of the Spanish people against him and a horrible record of crime and failure has been transformed by the force of events into a fundamental link in the fascist conspiracy.

That Spain has served as a Nazi base of operations under Franco has been confirmed many times. Only last week Walter Winchell presented to his millions of readers concise and overwhelming evidence of Franco's assistance to Hitler —assistance which continues to this day. It is not necessary to repeat the story here. But it is essential that every citizen of the United Nations look squarely at the problem which the existence of such a regime creates in Europe and the world.

Let us be clear, the question of Franco's survival or downfall affects not only Spaniards but all those who are fighting to defeat the Axis. We Spanish Republicans are determined to finish with Franco, whether we are helped or not. It may take six months, a year, five years, but we shall overthrow him no matter how sympathetic Mr. Churchill may feel toward him and no matter how much more Spanish blood must be shed. But the men and women of the United Nations who understand that the peace may be ruined by the fascist plot now in preparation—they also have a responsibility to decide whether the fascist dictator of Spain shall or shall not be kept in power.

It was in Spain that this war began, and it is in Spain that this war can be politically won or lost. As in 1936-39, the Spanish question is essentially an international question. We now have the authoritative opinion of the former Under Secretary of the State Department, Sumner Welles, that the policy followed by the Western democracies in the Spanish war was the greatest blunder that could have been made. The price paid for it was the present war. A similar blunder would be committed were the United Nations to revive now, in any form, the policy of false non-intervention. To prevent Spain from becoming the main base of the next fascist assault, it is essential that Franco be destroyed. But not after a year, when most of the evil will have been done. He must be destroyed now.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

Checking the Checkers

IN PREVIOUS election campaigns all sorts of dubious results of polls were published in the last week, but this year efforts to plumb public opinion have been kept on a remarkably high level. Though the group of magazines which finances the *Fortune* poll is strongly in favor of Dewey, the latest *Fortune* release, dated October 26, gives Roosevelt 53.5 per cent of the popular vote and Dewey 46.5 per cent.

The New York *Daily News* is conducting a poll for the entire state of New York which will, in the end, be based on nearly 50,000 interviews. On October 26 it gave Dewey 51.3 per cent against Roosevelt's 48.7 per cent. This poll is unusual in that the *Daily News* reports exactly where it was taken, thus making possible a real check-up on the validity of the sample. Good sampling depends on two things: the areas picked must be so distributed that together they can be considered representative; and within each area all people

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must have an equal chance to be interviewed. This column commissioned Dr. Raymond Franzen to check the *Daily News* poll for the first and most important requirement. The test was based on the following question: If the same poll had been made in 1940 would the vote in the sample areas have been representative of the vote in the whole state? The answer was complimentary to the *Daily News*. With such a sample they would have overestimated Republican strength by only 1.3 per cent, a deviation which may very well be due to the fact that the present poll is only about half completed.

The Chicago daily *Times*, a pro-Roosevelt paper, is running a poll for Illinois which at this moment gives Roosevelt 50.07 per cent and Dewey 49.93 per cent. A check of its sampling has not been feasible, but the *Times* has run polls before and has an excellent record for careful operation and success in prediction. Of course such a close tie makes one outcome as probable as the other.

The one prediction effort which is open to criticism is that of *Newsweek*. This magazine asks 118 newspapermen distributed all over the country to give their expert opinion every month on the probable outcome of the election; their latest prediction is 230 Democratic electoral votes, 232 Republican electoral votes, and 69 toss-ups. It is well known that even the most honest expert will be influenced in his appraisal of the situation by his own conviction. Newspapers in this country are editorially for Dewey three to one. Therefore even a representative sample of newspapermen would be likely to overrate the Republican chances. Actually *Newsweek's* selection of experts is even more one-sided. The political affiliation of about two-thirds of the newspapers on its panel are known from a recent survey by *Editor and Publisher*. This column checked the *Newsweek* experts by that list and discovered that the ratio of Republicans to Democrats is more than five to one.

The latest Gallup results, released on October 27, do not permit any specific prediction. Gallup gives 179 electoral votes definitely to Roosevelt and 66 definitely to Dewey, but 286 electoral votes are left uncertain because the poll figures are between 47 and 53 per cent. Among doubtful states Gallup now includes Kentucky, where he reports a 2 per cent drop in Roosevelt's sentiment, and Illinois, where he credits Roosevelt with a 2 per cent gain since his release of two weeks ago. A change of 3 per cent away from Roosevelt is reported for West Virginia, whose proximity to the Pennsylvania mine fields might make this important. For Pennsylvania itself Gallup again reports a fifty-fifty break.

It is regrettable that the two other careful newspaper polls come from states which present no problem because all data place them safely on the Republican side—Iowa and Minnesota. After Senator Ball's statement that he would not vote for Dewey—but before he came out for Roosevelt—the Minneapolis *Sunday Tribune* released figures that showed no decline of the Dewey majority in Minneapolis. This corroborated our conviction that campaign events of this kind, even if they receive much attention in the formal media of communication, have little effect on the masses of voters.

The soldiers' vote still remains an unknown quantity. The only pertinent inference which can be drawn from civilian poll data is that the proportion of Roosevelt voters among the younger age groups, from which the soldiers' vote is naturally recruited, is considerably higher than in the older age groups. But many other factors will play a role here, such as the possible anti-labor sentiment in the army on the one side and the "charismatic" role of the Commander-in-Chief on the other; it is possible, too, that the soldiers may think that one of the two parties might get them home earlier.

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

In the Wind

AN OBSERVER IN ITALY writes: "I continue to meet people who are *not* leaders; people who need shoes, garments, candles, fats, sugar; people who are hunting for a rabbit for twenty hours, who are obliged to mill the scarce corn and wheat in a coffee mill; who are going around with shoes kept together with pieces of wire and string and with jackets which no second-hand dealer in the world would buy. But all these people speak very clearly, and they know very well what they are talking about. They say, pointing their fingers toward a villa: 'There they were giving balls for the Germans, and before the Germans they were entertaining the Fascists. Today they dance with the Americans, but tomorrow the balls will be led by us.' "

MEANWHILE, IN AMERICA a Republican writes to the editor of the Memphis, Tennessee, *Press-Scimitar:* "The real domestic issue at stake is for the part of the people who vote to decide whether the private and corporate property owners or the employers class shall remain dominant and direct affairs as formerly, or shall the wage workers who have the votes continue to carry on through their political prestidigitators whose chief mission in life is to stir up strife by creating class hatred."

ELECTION ADVICE from Karl Struss of Hollywood: "Let us repudiate, in the coming elections, the ringleaders of all nations who have allowed the slaughter of humanity to commence and to continue. . . . All those in authority everywhere throughout the world during the past ten years are equally guilty of this crime against humanity. . . . Therefore, the peoples of this planet should demand the immediate abdication of all the present rulers of all nations."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Norwegian pastor who has cooperated with the Nazis had to cross a fjord recently and couldn't persuade anybody to row him across. He had to get the Nazis to intercede for him. They ordered a farmer to row him across. The boat was so leaky that the pastor had to bail furiously all the way, and by the time they reached the other side he was soaking wet and on the verge of collapse. He staggered ashore and watched the farmer empty the boat and start for home. "But," he cried, "you certainly don't intend to row across alone in that leaky boat?" "Yes, I guess so," said the farmer. "I've put the plug back in the bottom."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best items.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Partisan Europe

Domodossola Won and Lost

BY MARIO BELLINI

WHEN the history of the liberation of Italy is written, the record of the Allies in cities like Cassino and Chiusi will do them honor; in others the wisdom of Allied leadership has not been so apparent. One of these is Domodossola.

On September 10 Italian partisans attacked Domodossola and the nearby valleys on the border of Switzerland in such considerable and well-organized strength that after a short fight the German and Fascist garrisons were forced to surrender. The Allies had promised full support to any organized movement to drive out the Germans and Fascists, but although the town had great strategic importance, the patriots of Domodossola received no help. On October 16 the partisans had to abandon this border stronghold and take to the mountains.

Domodossola is at the Italian end of the Simplon tunnel, on the modern railroad which connects Italy with the great German industrial centers of the Ruhr and the Saar. Supplies for the Germans in their Italian campaign were carried by this road, and as long as the Italian partisans held the Domodossola region, these supplies did not reach the Germans. In addition, German-operated war factories in Piedmont and Lombardy were paralyzed by the partisans' capture of the electric-power plant in the Ossola valley.

After the valleys of Ossola, Antasca, Antrona, Rognanca, di Vedro, Antigorio, and Centovalli, with a total population of about 100,000, were liberated, Professor Ettore Tibaldi formed a provisional government of six experts chosen from the various partisan groups. In each village a commissioner was appointed to take charge of the local administration and to maintain order. The change of rule was effected with almost no bloodshed. A few top-ranking Fascists were executed; some collaborationist women had their heads shaved. But the primary task of the provisional government was to continue the fight against the Germans. The spirit animating the partisans was expressed in a proclamation issued by the Matteotti Brigade: "One goal lifts up our hearts and hardens our will—Milan, where so many of our brothers are suffering in prison or are killed every day by the ruthless brigands of the Fascist militia. Patriots of the Matteotti Brigade, the dawn of battle has arrived! Soon, very soon, we shall be called on to give proof of our courage, of our capacity for sacrifice. We must be ready. In the name of Matteotti, that brave and loyal martyr for liberty, we will march again to liberate our brothers."

The provisional government faced difficult problems. The Germans and Fascists had made off with all the provisions. Twelve hundred children were suffering from undernourishment. There were no medical supplies. Switzerland quickly recognized the provisional government and generously offered hospitality to three hundred children; some relief was provided by the Swiss Red Cross. But no substantial aid from the Allies was received.

On October 6 Colonel Federici, commander of the partisan units, in an interview with a correspondent for the *Tribune de Genève,* declared: "We need young men to fight in the mountains. That is why we called upon the youth. Men older than twenty-eight we prefer to keep in the power plants, for we need fuel and light; we also need men to till the fields. We number 10,000, of whom half are Ossolans. We are all armed. We requisitioned all sporting arms in the valley and have also taken many arms from the enemy. We could do great things if only General Alexander, as he promised in a broadcast, would send us more guns. We have prepared two airfields, and we are waiting." The next day the same paper stated that the partisans' "urgent appeals had gone unheeded, and the Allies had failed to send food or arms." It added that the impression prevailed among the partisans that the hesitation of the Allies was due to "not easily ascertainable motives." The provisional government contained anti-monarchist elements, and that may have had something to do with it. At any rate, the airfields were never used. The desperately needed artillery never arrived.

Early in October a strong German and Fascist force containing 2,000 S. S. men and supported by tanks, flame-throwers, and heavy guns launched an attack upon Domodossola from Lake Maggiore. The partisans fought with tremendous courage for two weeks, but finally had to flee. Today the railroad is again carrying munitions to the Germans; the great turbines of the Ossola valley are again providing energy for German war plants.

On October 16 the *Tribune de Genève* said: "The patriots in northern Italy have been dealt a heavy blow, and the prestige of the Allies, who did nothing to help the Domodossola partisans, is sinking." In spite of all the Allies' declarations of good-will, in spite of the fifty million dollars provided by the UNRRA for Italian relief, one fact stands out with painful clarity: the Allies have systematically refused to recognize the efforts of the Italian people to fight fascism, to "earn their way back" to a place in the democratic sun.

A Quisling Among Quislings

BY JOHN W. GERBER

FOR four years vivid accounts of the heroism of the resistance in the occupied countries were passed on to us by persons on the sidelines; for the past four months new lurid details have been supplied by the underground fighters themselves. One might think that the flavor would have gone out of such recitals. But the story of the patriot uprising in Slovakia, of which we now have the first instalment, promises to read like an old-fashioned romance of Balkan intrigue.

The central figure seems to be one General Ferdinand

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Catlos. Before the war the General was an obscure officer in the Czechoslovak army, but when the puppet Slovak government was formed in 1939, he was raised to the position of Minister of War. Under his rule two Slovak divisions were sent to Russia, where they deserted to the Red Army almost en masse. Our knowledge of his activities since then is largely limited to what has been reported in German newspapers and over the Berlin radio.

Until the end of last August Catlos enjoyed the full confidence of the Germans. A Nazi broadcast on August 29 represented him as urging the people of Slovakia to welcome the Germans as friends. But on September 2 the radio announced that Monsignor Tiso, the Catholic puppet President, had dismissed General Catlos as a "traitor." In those four days the Slovak army under his command had ceased to be a servile force at the disposal of the Germans and become an army of liberation.

The Axis press told later how this blitz change was effected. General Catlos was careful to allow no one in his Ministry of National Defense whom he could not entirely trust. Very early he began to send Slovak nationalists to the front and to train the rest of the army in guerrilla warfare. He kept all material relating to this activity in files marked "confidential" and "secret." Not till August 29, the very day the German radio praised him for his remarkable organizational work, did he call his officers together and reveal his plans. On that day, at Banska Bystrica, he told them that the time had come to proclaim the new Czechoslovak republic and to join the partisans in the fight against the German invader.

The coup threw Slovak quislings into complete confusion. Dr. Tiso appointed his brother Prime Minister and announced that "renovation" of the army was under way. All soldiers still in Slovakia were disarmed until they could be investigated individually. Even the police and the Hlinka guards underwent reorganization. A report from a Czech source said that elements of the Hlinka guards in one town joined in hailing the republic. Never did a Trojan horse running wild among Trojan cavalry produce greater disorder. It was the master-stroke of a quisling against quislings.

Catlos's part in the whole affair is as mysterious as his present whereabouts. The Germans insist that he was a traitor from the start, cloaking his treachery behind anti-Communist speeches. Czechs here in New York say that his record is against him and that "it is extremely unlikely that he would be accepted by the people after his record of treason to the republic."

He disappeared on August 29, immediately after the momentous meeting with his officers, and nothing more has been heard of him. A German broadcast from Bratislava on September 7 spoke of the fate which awaited the traitors and said that Catlos, the "organizer of the putsch," had gone over to the "bandits" but had been arrested by them. This has not been confirmed from any other source.

One thing, however, is undisputed. Slovak patriots, strengthened immeasurably by the army officers and soldiers who went over to their side after Banska Bystrica, have scored a series of important successes against the Germans. Their contribution has real value now that the Red Army has crossed the frontiers of Czechoslovakia.

From the point of view of political warfare, the Slovak resistance has proved two things: first, that a government with a clean democratic record and a clear-cut democratic policy like Dr. Benes's can win the support of the people despite the most pernicious Axis propaganda—nowhere was nationalistic feeling more whipped up than in Slovakia; and, second, that if the people have truly revolutionary inclinations, they will revolt no matter how severe the repression. The Gestapo in Slovakia has been alert and brutal, but the Slovaks are waging their own war of liberation.

Watch the Labor Party!

THE British Labor Party will hold its annual conference in December, and until then there will be continuous discussion as to the policy the party should adopt. This is a question which affects not only the British but progressive elements everywhere, for the entire democratic future of Europe may be determined by the stand British Labor takes. It is the only force in Great Britain capable of opposing the reactionary tendencies of the English Tories.

Mr. Churchill may sound like the most agile Jacobin when he addresses Mr. Molotov, Ambassador Harriman, and Anthony Eden as "comrades" in Moscow, and when he speaks in laudatory terms of the "workers' and soldiers' councils." But his policy in Italy, Greece, and Spain would not have pleased the great man who now lies in Red Square, under the massive stone known as the Lenin tomb. Instead of hearing Mr. Churchill sing the "Internationale" in Moscow and perhaps a few bars of "Giovinezza" when he is in Rome with Prince Humbert and Badoglio, we should prefer to hear him repeat the sober measures of the Atlantic Charter, of which he is one of the eminent authors.

Only Labor can prevent Great Britain from becoming the champion of every reactionary cause in Europe, under its great war leader, whose prestige will have been greatly increased by victory. But to do this, Labor must first regain its political independence. When the final balance is taken, a tremendous inequality will be apparent between the service Labor rendered England and the war effort by entering the coalition government and the part Labor has been allowed to play in the formulation of British policy. At not a single international conference, from the first meeting in the Atlantic to the conversations in Quebec, has Mr. Churchill been accompanied by a Labor member of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister has always taken with him a large number of civil and military authorities, but never one of his Labor colleagues. And surely most of England's decisions in foreign affairs, so contrary to everything Labor represents, were taken without the participation of the Labor ministers, if not in total disregard of their opinion.

Now Labor has decided to enter the elections "as a party." Commenting on that decision, the London *Economist* writes, "Whatever may be the present intention of the Labor Ministers, this can only mean in practice that the party will leave the present coalition as soon as the general election impends." But as the London *Tribune* very pointedly

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remarked, "To disembrace yourself from the Tories is one thing. To plan their rout is another." There is still a strong right wing in the party which would prefer to continue in the coalition government. Only against its stubborn opposition did the majority decide to fight in the elections as an independent party.

To become really strong, strong enough to win the election, the British Labor Party must develop what it has not had until now, either during the war or before the war—a clear political line and an aggressive leadership. The discussions preceding the December conference will indicate whether we can hope to see British Labor taking a decisive part in the struggle for a progressive Europe.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

NOW that the Reich has lost the occupied countries and has also been cut off from any communication with Spain, Portugal, and Turkey, it has achieved the goal about which it has raved for years—autarchy. For the first time Germany can now in truth rejoice in an autarchic economic system—and that with the battle lines and the enemy air forces right at its borders.

This column has previously called attention to the consequences of the forced autarchy with respect to coal, the basis of the whole German economy. After the loss of French, Dutch, Belgian, and Luxembourg coal, on which the German war machine had drawn heavily for years, the only source left was the Ruhr, where 80 per cent of Germany's production is located. But the bombings and the proximity of the front so disorganized production and especially transportation in the Ruhr region that a calamitous restriction of this last source of supply could be foreseen. This column declared that within a short time a killing coal famine was bound to develop, and now the signs of it are multiplying. Of course German newspapers scarcely ever print anything about the amount of coal available for industry. But the *Völkische Beobachter* of October 7 contains some extremely symptomatic references to the so-called "simplification measures"—a very discreet euphemism—now governing private consumption.

> An order prohibiting the sale of coal to theaters and vaudeville houses has been issued by coal headquarters. The coal formerly intended for these places has been diverted to other purposes. Every coal consumer will have to economize to the utmost. Local boards have fixed the dates when public buildings, restaurants, movie theaters, and the like can start their heat. Householders have been advised to start it as late as possible. All who can collect branches, stumps, or pine cones should do so. Waste lumber of any kind should be used to the greatest possible extent.

Coal is of course more important for Germany than any other commodity, since it is the raw material of all other fuels, including oil and electricity. But an ominous shortage threatens in a great many other indispensable products, especially iron, hardening alloys, and bauxite, from which aluminum is made. For all these things Germany has now lost its main sources of supply, and the situation of the Reich today is simply not comparable to that of the Reich six months ago. The Reich of today, with its finally achieved "autarchy," is doomed, whatever happens at the front. And it will not be long before its absolutely desperate situation becomes apparent. After our hope of a speedy end to the war was disappointed by the stiffening of German resistance, the mood here swung in an instant to the other extreme. People envisaged a long final struggle, dragging out mile after mile. I venture to assert that the terrible industrial strangulation which Germany is suddenly—and for the first time—experiencing will bring the catastrophe more quickly.

Reports from the front say that among the German soldiers recently taken prisoner are men with only one leg or one arm. A Swiss newspaper contains an item which may be regarded as relevant:

> A new method to instil "enthusiasm" has been introduced in the German army. It consists of an electric-shock treatment for soldiers who feel incapable of front service because of previous injuries. The treatment is continued until they finally beg to be sent back to their units. The procedure is this: the apparatus is attached to some part of the body, usually the leg or arm, and at short intervals the victim receives a shock of 250 volts. The German soldier calls this treatment being "ironed." No one who has experienced it will ever forget it. It is simply a form of torture by which wounded men are induced to return to the front. Many soldiers are said to prefer suicide to this agony.

The Swiss paper which printed this item was the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Schaffhausen, a city on the German-Swiss border.

Official German propaganda continues to speak of secret weapons. Aside from some metaphysical chatter, this is the only reason it offers for expecting a change for the better. One can understand, then, the sensation caused (according to neutral reports) by an article in the *Bochumer National Zeitung* of September 30 which decried talk about the new weapons.

> Let us be honest: although we knew what was awaiting us in the summer of 1944, it has turned out even worse than we expected. Interest in the war is greater than ever; the "new weapons" especially are the center of all thoughts. Oil is constantly being poured on the fire by speakers and writers until one gets the impression that there are too many good intentions. That is why this shouting about "new weapons" should stop. It would be better to depend on the ancient, eternal dynamism of the German people, which has never failed. When a house is on fire, it is crazy to call loudly for a new kind of fire-extinguisher. The fire must be fought with the good old means still available. And the German house is indeed on fire. The German clock strikes twelve. In this crisis our only decisive weapon is the heroism of our lines. . . . Let us be pleasantly surprised by new weapons, but let us continue to fight at home and at the front with the old reliable ones. Let us not see our salvation in inert matter—in V-1, V-2, V-3, or any other secret weapon.

The sensationalism of this article is heightened by the fact that its author was the Gauleiter of Swabia, Karl Wahl. For one of the highest dignitaries of the regime to contradict important official statements so provocatively is an unprecedented anomaly. Why he did it and how he could do it is a mystery. But at any rate he must have some knowledge of what the secret weapons actually amount to.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I ARRIVED IN NEW YORK twenty years ago in September. On my first day I set out to look for a job and found myself in almost empty streets. It was a Jewish holiday, but I had come from Utah by way of Montana and I had never heard of Jewish holidays. I had had a few Jewish friends, who were Gentiles to us Mormons (one of my present Jewish friends says he wants to go to Utah so he can have the curious experience of being regarded as a Gentile). I had even become aware that Jews had disabilities. They were barred from sororities at college. But the "good" national sororities didn't have chapters at the University of Utah in my day because Mormons were not allowed to join *their* exclusive ranks. I wasn't particularly conscious at the time of this perfect little study in prejudice reduced to the absurd, but I suspect it has had something to do with my immunity to race prejudice and my conviction that anyone who has it is to that extent stupid as well as cruel.

HENRY MILLER has just issued a new collection under the lovely and improbable title of "Sunday After the War" (New Directions, $3). I first made the acquaintance of Mr. Miller in "Tropic of Cancer," which was published in Paris and found its way here some years ago. It had terrific vitality and was very funny. It could not be published in this country and probably never can be because it is what is known as "pornographic" literature. I use quotation marks because the word has a pejorative sense. I can't think of an English word, incidentally, which describes that kind of writing without at the same time passing a moral judgment on it. If you say a book is frank about sex, for instance, the implication is that you think it's admirable. Surely the French must have a neutral word for this sort of thing, though I don't know what it is.

Miller came to this country several years ago and he has published several volumes here. The present one, which is a miscellany, is the first of these I've read. The best things in it, as far as I'm concerned, are Reunion in Brooklyn and a mad piece which is described as another fragment from "The Rosy Crucifixion," one of Miller's "works in progress." He's very good at titles—another of his works in progress is "The Air-Conditioned Nightmare." The two things I've mentioned have, up to a point, the flailing vitality and humor of "Tropic of Cancer," and I still get an irrational pleasure out of such sentences as "The black floral pieces are dripping with condensed milk," though by now they rank as period pieces, as dated as Dali.

When Miller goes "straight" and serious—and he does it pretty often in this book—he gets prosaic and wordy. I respect, but am not much moved by, his invocations to Greece; from his pieces on D. H. Lawrence I got only the sensation of having been out in a downpour of words; his lashing out at America is often funny and effective but just as often rather silly—he can get into a frenzy, in 1944, over the idiocy of mechanical refrigerators. As for his constant insistence on his status as an artist, it makes me feel that he protests too much. He indulges himself much as Sherwood Anderson did, by assuming that anything he writes is art because he is an artist and has written it. I doubt if he ever rewrites.

Mr. Miller is now by way of becoming the center of a circle in California—which is notoriously heavy-making. If he wants to preserve his figure he had better head back toward Paris, his natural habitat, where his veritable books can appear as they list.

SPEAKING OF PERIOD PIECES, I understand that dealers are getting rid of their Victorian items. They expect another boom in post-(another)war modern.

UP TO THE PRESENT, if a doctor wanted to become a psychoanalyst he got his training under the auspices of such organizations, authoritative but nevertheless private and voluntary, as the New York Pychoanalytic Society, which has its counterpart in other cities. Now a clinic for training and research in psychoanalysis has been established in the Department of Psychiatry at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. Qualified physicians will be admitted, after they have undergone an analysis, to a three-year course of resident graduate training in psychoanalysis and psychosomatic medicine. On fulfilling all the requirements, which are strict, they may register for the degree of Doctor of Medical Science.

This is interesting and important news, if only because it establishes psychoanalysis as a "respectable" medical technique. The new clinic will provide an opportunity for experimentation which has not been possible in private practice. It should put an end to exploitation of the technique by unqualified persons who could not hitherto be held to account. At present only doctors of medicine are allowed to practice analysis in this country, but even with this limitation there have been many abuses, and the patient has had no formal way of checking on the competence of analysts. This recognition of analysis as a legitimate technique should also break down the idea, which is still widely held, that resort to analysis is somehow disgraceful if not an indication of insanity. The time may even come, though I admit it is far distant, when analysis will be regarded as one of the processes of education.

SOME YEARS AGO the *New Yorker* viewed with humorous alarm the appearance of a funny paragraph in *The Nation* —or was it the *New Republic?* The comment contained a broad hint that liberal magazines should keep their place and leave the laughs to frivolous weeklies like the *New Yorker*. But it was not so long after that, as I recall, that a

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note of seriousness appeared in The Talk of the Town. There has always been an owl in the *New Yorker's* make-up, and last week the old bird stepped out and delivered a serious political harangue that filled the whole first page. He cited Tom Paine. He put forward a slogan: Federalists of the World Unite! And the whole thing was reprinted as an advertisement in the New York *Times,* obviously in an effort to influence public opinion. The first thing we know the *New Yorker* will be holding week-end conferences on the issues before the electorate; it will be up to *The Nation* to point out in the unfrivolous weeks ahead that there's a clothing store on Printing House Square named Wolf's, and a Bliss Exterminator Company in West Fifty-fourth Street.

The German Question

THE CONTROL OF GERMANY AND JAPAN. By Harold G. Moulton and Louis Marlio. Brookings Institution. $2.

OUR SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY. By H. N. Brailsford. The John Day Company. $1.75.

THE PROBLEM OF GERMANY. An Interim Report by a Chatham House Study Group. Oxford University Press. 85 cents.

THE temper of revenge is still rising in all the Allied nations as the news of Nazi frightfulness continues to complete the picture of the worst terror which mankind has faced since the Assyrians devastated Mesopotamia. This temper is understandable enough. It is, in fact, at least partly informed by a sense of justice. Men feel that the moral sense of mankind must be vindicated against this evil; furthermore they would like some guaranty against its recurrence, and the most obvious, though hardly the most efficacious, deterrent is simply to render the foe impotent.

The three books which have just appeared on the problem of the treatment of the foe are so judicious and prudent in their consideration of the various alternatives confronting us, and they explode so many emotional solutions of the problem, solutions which the Vansittarts and Rex Stouts of our day present as the ultimate political wisdom, that one could wish a wider distribution for them than they are likely to have. Moulton's and Marlio's "The Control of Germany and Japan" is primarily a careful analysis of the effectiveness of various types of control—economic, political, and military. Brailsford's discussion ranges over the whole issue of the future of Germany in the family of nations. It distils the same kind of dispassionate wisdom which made Brailsford one of the most trusted guides of the liberal world in the past generation. "The Problem of Germany," which Chatham House presents anonymously, deals with the problem primarily from the standpoint of British policy.

There is substantial agreement in the three treatises on quite a few points. All of them recognize that punishment as such, however justified by reaction to the German evil, solves no problem. The evil which the Germans have done could not be adequately punished without starting a whole new chain of evil. "It is irrelevant," declares Brailsford, "to ask what punishment the Germans deserve in requital for the hell they have let loose on earth. . . . What we have to plan is the welfare of all the peoples concerned and not an anticipation of the Last Judgment." The Chatham House report makes the important point that the complete moral, political, and economic breakdown of Germany after defeat is a more rigorous punishment than any which can be devised. "If," it declares, "the headache which follows Germany's prodigious debauch is not remembered, its artificial prolongation will not avail."

Brailsford has the greatest degree of faith in the democratic forces of Germany as the final instrument of reformation in Germany. Moulton is not concerned with this problem, and Chatham House makes a careful inventory of all the perils and possibilities of German politics. All of them recognize that the height and depth of evil achieved

HAVE YOU READ

W. H. Auden's leading review of THE JEW IN OUR DAY in the September 23rd issue of *The Nation?*

Whether or not you read the review—whether or not you think you might disagree with it or agree with it, you will want to read

The Jew in Our Day

By WALDO FRANK

The book of which George Shuster says:

"Very significant because it is so deeply concerned with the spiritual as well as the material welfare of his people."

The book which *realistically* discusses and answers among other vital questions:

Anti-Semitism, and the elements in Jewish life in this country which *favor* and *enhance* anti-Semitism.

Zionism: Its need of reform.

A Program for Jewish Action.

The book about which Frank McMahon wrote in the *Chicago Sun:*

"Thoughtful and thought-provoking. . . . I only hope that the Christians who read it will transpose the key of the work and find in it the record of their own failures."

THE JEW IN OUR DAY is a call to action. With an Introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr, it is of equal importance to every liberal American—both gentile and Jewish. $2.50

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE

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A POST-WAR PROGRAM FOR JEWS

The following letter to Secretary of State Cordell Hull was made public October 19, by Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

The Council, a nation-wide organization of Americans of Jewish faith, has as its program the acquisition of a status of equality for Jews all over the world.

The Honorable Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I respectfully submit the following in behalf of the American Council for Judaism, Inc., of which I have the honor to be President:

We are deeply impressed by the fact that our Government is demonstrating its concern with basic human problems, the solution of which will be essential to the maintenance of peace and the attainment of security upon which the hopes of the world are based. We are heartened by the conferences on relief, education and international cooperation. We are especially grateful that our Government is actively engaged in alleviating the plight of persecuted and under-privileged people everywhere; recognizing that when persecution and injustice are permitted to endure, they leave the world scarred with hatred, miseries, wars and devastation.

As American citizens of the Jewish faith, we present herewith our views on one aspect of these problems—the situation confronting our co-religionists abroad.

The official history of the Nazi accession to power in Germany began with a long series of odious acts of discrimination, persecution and violence against Jews. These acts mounted in ferocity until they attained the indescribable horrors of extermination camps. I shall not here recapitulate the full chronicle of this infamy. The tragic facts are fully known to you.

A sober regard for a world free from fear and from the persecutions which breed hatred and war, have, no doubt, persuaded you that the fullest consideration must be given for the restitution, restoration and future security of all the victims. You have, yourself, proclaimed the high standard that we must have a world in which Jews like all men are free to abide in peace and in honor. In an effort to realize that goal, we submit the following as the cardinal consideration:

Jews living in all parts of the world as members of a religious faith are entitled, as of right and not on sufferance, to full equality all over the world.

We, therefore, ask this—and only this—for our fellow Jews: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow-nationals. This means equality in the countries in which Jews live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration. We urge this as the cardinal concept by which post-war plans affecting Jews must be measured. We trust that the United States of America, in accordance with its traditions, and in its own enlightened self-interest will exert its fullest influence for the universal acceptance of this concept of full equality of rights and obligations.

Jews were singled out as the first victims of Axis aggression and have, therefore, suffered longer than others. Precisely because this is true, their future, if it is to be more hopeful than their past, must not be built upon policies that continue to segregate them for any treatment departing from the principle of full equality.

Fundamentally, the solution to the problems of Jews, a religious and not a national group, rests on recognition of the inalienable rights of the individual. Once that concept of human freedom is unqualifiedly accepted, Jews will require no special measure.

Accordingly, we look confidently to our Government to aid in the restoration to, or if need be, acquisition by, Jews of equality of religious, civic and political rights inherent in full citizenship. Restitution shall be provided with equality for all citizens, based upon the degree of injury suffered.

We also look to our Government for assurances that in all programs for resettlement, repatriation, reconstruction and migration, it will steadfastly call for adherence to the principle of equality of all nationals regardless of race or creed.

Millions of all faiths have been uprooted by this war and may need or desire to find new homes. In their be-

(*Continued on next page*)

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half we urge the maximum simplification of migration policies and procedures; economic aid to migrants; and the extension of generous support to all potential centers for larger post-war immigration in those territories holding forth promises of development in the near future.

We urge our Government to use its good offices to guarantee that in those potential centers of immigration not now having the status of a sovereign nation:

1. Immigration shall not be limited by racial or religious qualifications but shall be determined by the expanding economic capacity and political stability of these territories.

2. The institutions of self-government shall be speedily established as soon as populations demonstrate a capacity for self-government—and by no other standard.

One such territory is Palestine. The adoption of these principles would mean abolition of the British White Paper of 1939 and its unjust discrimination against Jews.

We urge the adoption of the following principles in a clear declaration of policy on Palestine that would take the place of all previous documents and commitments which have been variously interpreted, and which have led to confusion among our co-religionists and others. Such a policy should, we urge, stress the special character of Palestine as part of the religious heritage of Judaism, Christianity and Islam and make adequate provision for the maintenance of the holy places under international control. It should aid immigration consistent with the fullest possible economic development and political well-being of the country without special limitations or privileges. It should lead to the earliest possible acquisition of self-government, in which all fulfilling the requirements of citizenship shall be free to participate.

We oppose the establishment of Palestine or any locality as a Jewish State or Commonwealth. We regard as fundamentally undemocratic the procedures involved in such an establishment, such as a preferred status in immigration to those of one religious faith and an arbitrary and indefinite postponement of self-government.

Such proposals will, we believe, embroil Jews now in Palestine in continuing civil strife and place in jeopardy the equality of status of Jews everywhere who are integrated in their respective homelands and do not wish to be party to a Jewish State or Commonwealth. Our emphasis, therefore, is on the attainment of the status for Jews of full equality for citizenship—its rights and its responsibilities.

We are, of course, aware that stipulations of equality are not, in and of themselves, adequate to prevent serious discrimination and the engendering of fear and insecurity. We therefore urge their implementation by the establishment of appropriate international machinery, to which those deprived of such rights may turn and obtain redress.

Finally, we commend for the earnest consideration of our Government the adoption of a policy to implement the principles set forth above; a policy whereby the United States of America, when it is contemplating the extension of assistance to a country, will consider, as one of the major factors, that the country under consideration accepts the concept of equality of all its nationals without regard to race or creed. Such a condition to the extension of American aid, either alone or in concert with others of the United Nations, would be an effective, practical demonstration of our determination to foster the principles of democracy in the post-war world.

The foregoing is submitted to you, Mr. Secretary, in the earnest belief that every effort toward the elimination of persecution and discrimination is a contribution to world peace and is, therefore, in harmony with our fundamental national interest.

I should be very happy to put myself and this organization at your disposal for any services that we may be able to render.

Very respectfully yours,

LESSING J. ROSENWALD

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in Nazism was partly the consequence of compounding the more obvious evil of Nazi nihilism with the older evil of a predatory militarism, deeply rooted in Prussian history and borne by the aristocratic class. When we add the general ineptness of Germans in the field of politics it is perhaps justifiable to take a sober view of the German future and not to expect too much in the way of emergence of a full-blown democratic government. Democracy requires a margin of stability and well-being which the Germans will lack for a long time to come. None of these studies subscribe to the obscurantist view, now assiduously propagated, that we have to deal with a totally depraved nation. The problem of Germany remains a vexatious one, however, even when this is recognized.

There is considerable agreement on the question of the dismemberment of Germany as a method of insuring its future impotence. Moulton makes a careful analysis of various dismemberment plans and comes to the conclusion that economic as well as political dismemberment would not only wreck the Germany economy but adversely affect the economic health of the whole of Europe. Political, without economic, dismemberment, on the other hand, would be unavailing as it would not destroy the war potential. Brailsford declares: "Germany could be kept dismembered only if the other powers remained vigilant, united, and ready for action. On that assumption, however, dismemberment is unnecessary." Chatham House gives a very qualified approval to a plan for federalizing Germany, after reviewing the abortive separatist policies after the last war.

All the studies oppose a general deindustrialization of Germany. All of them point out how important the German economy is for the whole of Europe and how this form of punishment would spread economic chaos. Moulton and Marlio make the most careful analysis of various types of industrial control over Germany, including the internationalization of the Ruhr, control of raw materials, key industries, aviation, electric power, etc. They dismiss some forms of control as completely impractical and accept others as offering moderate prospects of success. The various analyses prove how difficult it is to destroy military potential under modern conditions, when industrial potential is the most important military potential, as our own American experience has abundantly proved.

All the studies come to the conclusion that the organization of the world, and of the European and Asiatic continents, is a prerequisite for a solution of the problem of the enemy and vanquished nations. Brailsford tends to picture an ideal solution of the international problem, in the achievement of which he himself does not have too much confidence. Despite their varying viewpoints, the studies agree in placing the emphasis where it belongs. Without an adequate unity among the victorious powers measures against the enemy nations will either not be carried out—as, for instance, disarmament—or they will contribute to the anarchy of the world—as, for instance, dismemberment. Even if an over-all solution of the international problem is achieved, the question of the vanquished nations is a perplexing one; but it is important to recognize it as the secondary and not the primary problem.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

BRIEFER COMMENT

The "Exposed Surface"

NOT MANY BRITISH TRAVELERS, writing about this country, have been so friendly as D. W. Brogan is in his new book, "The American Character" (Knopf, $2.50); and probably almost none have known both the past and the present life of the United States so well as he. This makes for an extremely disarming treatment of our national character, and the fact is that Mr. Brogan is not only an agreeable and well-informed observer but, at many points, a very astute one. On such matters as public education in this country Mr. Brogan delivers himself of some of the most sensible judgments this reviewer has encountered—from Europeans or, indeed, Americans. His book, however, was intended for a British audience, and though naturally we too may learn things from it, an American reviewer is bound to remark that Mr. Brogan's liberal-minded, even-handed friendliness has blinded him to some of the darker and also, curiously enough, to some of the higher manifestations of human life in this country. A few of the ugly and destructive forces abroad in the United States, in the past and today, Mr. Brogan does indeed glance at, but his total picture makes much too light of them. At the other pole, he is too determined, like most Europeans, to see only what Van Wyck Brooks once called the "exposed surface" of our life—the practicality, the cult of success, the easy cheerfulness, the folksiness—to have much time left for the other and possibly more interesting side—the deep-seated personal tensions, the rooted sense of guilt, the fears and the failures, the quixotry and the stubborn idealisms, the devotion to faint hopes and to lost causes, that have been quite as characteristically, though less obviously, American. Benjamin Franklin, not Jonathan Edwards, is still the European stereotype—accepted by too many of us also—for our national ethos.

N. A.

Geddes, Challenger

IF YOU must label a man, Patrick Geddes was a biologist—a student of Huxley, a pioneer in sexology, co-author with J. A. Thomson of a great book, "Life." Even as a scientist, his career was unconventional: no degree; his one steady position a summer job endowed by a friend. "P. G. Unlimited" roamed far beyond botany, his official subject. He founded students' hostels, cleared slums, established "Outlook Towers" which were museums and laboratories of regional surveys, was active in India as city planner and sociologist; he died at Montpellier, where he had created a Collège des Ecossais, for this Scot of the Scots found his spiritual home in France.

Proteus is a scandal to the specialist. Best defined as a sociologist, a disciple of Comte and Le Play, with a dash of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris. In all things a biologist: city, region, culture were to him organic entities.

Philip Boardman's book, "Patrick Geddes: Maker of the Future" (University of North Carolina, $5), is thorough and delightful. The author knew Geddes, and gives us a living portrait: shaggy, explosive, magnetic, voluble, unex-

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pectedly practical—he started many enterprises involving large funds, and they did not all collapse—more oddly still, a born showman. Boardman is gently humorous without condescension, loyal without servility. He writes smoothly, pleasantly, with bits of romanced technique which do not seriously hurt. Lewis Mumford, who writes an introduction, is Geddes's gift to America; but Mumford is not blinded either by hero-worship. The Old Master must have been irritating at times. Still, he was a challenger and a builder, one of those rare men who dare say, "Why?" and "Why not?" A. G.

TWO VOLUMES OF PICTURES by men in the service have recently appeared: "Art in the Armed Forces: Pictures by Men in Action" (Charles Scribner's Sons, $5) and "Of Men and Battles," with pictures by David Fredenthal and text by Richard Wilcox (Howell, Soskin, $3). Both items are negligible as art, but they do have value as documents and reportage. They remedy some of the omissions of the camera's record of the war—omissions due less to the limitations of photography than to those of contemporary photographers. The camera shot has become and will continue to be a formula until the newspaper and magazine photographers who are the chief sustainers of the medium approach their art with a little more self-consciousness and ambition. David Fredenthal and the artists in the armed forces have their full quota of clichés, but it has become a firm tradition by now that whoever works with pencil or brush practices art and has a right to the pretension and daring that go with art. So that even some of the clichés are daring. These drawings and paintings lack the vivid, immediate, upsetting truth of photography, but they describe and narrate more completely and much more connectedly. They tell you not so much what the army and navy look like as what it is like to be in them. Even Matthew Brady could not show that.

C. G.

Briefer Comments in this issue were written by Newton Arvin, Albert Guérard, and Clement Greenberg.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ACCORDING to *Variety*, Mae West's "Catherine Was Great" took in $21,000 the week before last. During the same period "Soldier's Wife" went into the standing-room-only class, and half a dozen other offerings to which it would be difficult indeed to attribute conspicuous merit of any sort found themselves established as substantial hits. Here there is no real question of the critics versus the public, for I doubt that any considerable number of the people who clamor for tickets to most of these shows think that they are very good either before or after seeing them. It is merely that a real war boom is on, and no doubt the members of that class which hates to see money wasted by any class except its own will soon be talking about theater tickets the way it once talked about silk shirts. As for me, though I am no economist, I should imagine that paying good money for bad shows should be put under the head of anti-inflationary processes. Certainly no commodity of which there is a shortage is being consumed—not even the commodities called talent and intelligence.

Under the circumstances it obviously does not mean much to say that "I Remember Mama" (Music Box Theater) is an instantaneous hit. As a matter of fact and to be brutally frank, the piece is not very original and not very forceful. But it is clear that the audience genuinely enjoys the offering and that it is a pleasant enough little series of sketches which are inoffensive in content and decently written. It is also prettily produced and agreeably performed.

Kathryn Forbes, the original author, wrote for one of the popular magazines a series of short stories collectively entitled "Mama's Bank Account." Evidently they belonged in that large department of current literature which owes its existence to the fact that to have had quaint—or even disreputable—parents is now more useful to a would-be writer than it once was to be the son or daughter in a "best family." Some years ago James Thurber wrote a sort of prophetic parody on the whole school when he gave us "The Night the Bed Fell on Grandfather," but he seems to have encouraged rather than to have discouraged the genre. In Miss Forbes's case the locale was San Francisco, the blood Norwegian, and the ruling passion industrious thrift. Besides Mama, who manages everything, there is a strong silent Papa, various children, and three aunts—two of them busybodies and the third a sweet old maid who finally marries a timid undertaker's assistant. One of the children has a passion for animals and includes among her pets a combative tomcat who is miraculously cured of his injuries when Mama, trying to put him out of his misery, gives him just enough chloroform to induce a restful sleep. One of the other daughters is the little girl who grows up to write the family history.

John Van Druten assumed the difficult task of giving some sort of continuity to the evidently very fragmentary material, and within the limits of the possible has done a very good job, even though it would still be difficult to say what the central incident is or toward just what the whole thing is moving. There are many scenes, some of which are ingeniously managed by means of little alcoves placed one on each side of the main set, and the whole is presented through the eyes of the author, whom we first see as an adult reading her manuscript, from which she rises to take part in the action but to which she also returns from time to time when a transition is called for. This rather odd device was no doubt, in the first instance, resorted to in something like desperation, and it has of course the effect of removing the play itself one step away from actuality. But the ultimate effect is, I think, a good one under the circumstances. Without it the whole might seem a little too sweet and cheerful to be quite convincing. As it is, we seem to be watching a memory, and memories can convincingly present, not the past, but an idealization of it. Joan Tetzel as the author-to-be is pleasant to look at and youthfully effective. Mady Christians plays Mama with fine authority, and Oscar Homolka gets all the laughs he is supposed to get as the kindly and bibulous ogre, Uncle Chris. Without them the piece would probably be too insubstantial to make any impression. With them it is probably the best new play of the season, though honesty compels me to admit that a "best play" ought to be a bit more vigorous as well as a bit more original.

"Meet a Body" (Forrest Theater) is a comedy murder thriller of the sort that never hesitates when it comes to a question of sacrificing probability to

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action. It begins promisingly enough when a mysterious stranger comes into a humble "funeral home" for the purpose of arranging for the preparation of a body which, as it soon appears, is his own. At one time there are three corpses on stage and two off. Nothing was ever said in explanation of the fact that every now and then a phonograph upstairs began to play "Danse Macabre," but I suppose it was set going by the inevitable homicidal maniac who did turn up at the last moment. His nickname was "the Dancer."

Films

JAMES AGEE

TO ANYONE who has noticed, except with relief, the recent absence of this column, I want to apologize. I am sorry, too, that it will take me a couple of weeks to catch up. There ought to be some special tense for this warmed-over sort of reviewing; I can think, instead, only of a rough emotional equivalent: how much I wish I could have made a screen biography of Thomas E. Dewey, with Raymond Walburn in the title role.

Well, let me, like the Young Pretender, seize opportunity by the crupper. Of the movies I have seen lately the one I liked best was "To Have and Have Not." It has so little to do with Ernest Hemingway's novel that I see no point in discussing its "faithfulness"; it is, rather, a sort of call-house version of "Going My Way." It is not, I scuttle to explain, an upstairs story about priests. But like the better film it gets along on a mere thin excuse for a story, takes its time without trying to brag about its budget or to reel up footage for footage's sake, is an unusually happy exhibition of teamwork, and concentrates on character and atmosphere rather than plot. The best of the picture has no plot at all, but is a leisurely series of mating duels between Humphrey Bogart at his most proficient and the very entertaining, nervy, adolescent new blonde, Lauren Bacall. Whether or not you like the film will depend I believe almost entirely on whether you like Miss Bacall. I am no judge. I can hardly look at her, much less listen to her—she has a voice like a chorus by Kid Ory—without getting caught in a dilemma between a low whistle and a belly laugh. It has been years since I have seen such amusing pseudo-toughness on the screen. About

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all that Howard Hawkes and his writers (William Faulkner and Jules Furthman) and Bogart try to do is to set this arrogant neophyte off to the best possible advantage, to cover up her weaknesses—or turn them into assets—and to toss campstools under her whenever she wobbles. This in itself is a pleasure to watch; so is the way she rewards them; still more, I enjoyed watching something that obviously involved relaxed, improvising fun for those who worked on it, instead of the customary tight-lipped and hammer-hearted professional anxiety. I also enjoyed Hoagy Carmichael and his tunes, and the picture's general romantic, kidding appreciation of honkytonk. The best of it had for me at least a little of the nostalgia of highballs that taste like rotten mahogany, defective mechanical pianos at implacable fortissimo, or gents-rooms strangled with the fragrance of mentholated raspberries. This sort of slumgullion is, I must grant, fully as specious as stuff like "The White Cliffs of Dover" and perhaps even more reprehensible, since—I flatter myself—it seduces a better class of people. I still have a weakness for it, and cannot recommend "To Have and Have Not" to anyone who hasn't.

For "Thunder Rock," a much more high-minded movie, I can't say as much. It is well produced and on the whole very well acted, especially by Barbara Mullen; there were moments when it really moved me; and it is not only on the side of the angels but sometimes takes their side with passion and some eloquence. But angels bore me at least as much as anyone else when they arrange themselves so little theatrically: in a lighthouse, from dusk to dawn, the ghosts of some defeated nineteenth-century prometheans reenact their struggles before an embittered young man of our time, and persuade him that the world is worth fighting to save whether it likes it or not. I was glad of some outspoken virulence against some of the people—those, next to the Nazis, most often blamed—who did most to get the world into this war, until I reflected that even when it was written, around 1940, it came late enough to be safe. To find oneself, and others, approving this sort of intrepid *esprit d'escalier* is not only shaming but frightening. Such self-congratulatory, horribly late approval anaesthetizes us against an awareness of matters which, ten years from now, will become the material for bold, bitter, instructive pieces of sure-fire hindsight like "Thunder Rock."

"San Diego I Love You" is a coarse-weft, easygoing little farce about an inventor (Edward Everett Horton), his daughter (Louise Albritton), a girl-shy financier (Jon Hall), and some pleasant comics (notably Buster Keaton). I can't exactly recommend it, but if you see it by accident it will cause no particular pain. "Bride by Mistake" is more nearly a comedy of manners, I suppose (the heiress who wants to be sure she is loved for herself alone, etc.); its lines and characters are often almost human, and I thought that Laraine Day, whom I have not seen play comedy before, was attractive both in person and performance. I would like to see what Ernst Lubitsch could do for her. I rather liked "1812," a Russian film, when I saw it. Thinking it over, it reduces to a few flamboyant military shots, a lot of Moscow-Arty close-ups, and a good deal too much smell of studio. "Tall in the Saddle" is a medium-silly Western, done, however, as if those who made it knew that, and were getting and giving what mild pleasure they could out of the knowledge. "Dangerous Journey," an Armand Denis travel film, offers a script so inexpressibly smug and jeering that even a caption writer for the *National Geographic* would choke over it; one terrifying sequence in which a Burmese priestess and a king cobra carry on a dancelike dialogue about fertility; a scattering of other interesting shots, some of them lifted from "Dark Rapture" and most of them lamely put together; and a very gratifying one in which some sixty savage canoeists, paddling like mad, founder themselves, their craft, and Mr. Denis.

Christmas Books

Early Christmas buying is perhaps more important in the book trade this year than in any other branch of the merchandising field, because publishers *know* it will be impossible to fill late orders.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE period in the twenties when the talk was of jazz as the proper material for American symphonic music and of Gershwin as its proper composer was recalled to me not only by Koussevitzky's references to Gershwin in his *Life* article but by Toscanini's broadcast of the Piano Concerto with Oscar Levant last spring—the first performance I had heard since a Stadium performance with Gershwin himself around 1927. I heard Gershwin's performance of the work a half-dozen times in all—enough to fix its general characteristics of deftness, lightness, and precision in my mind. And having for years heard of Levant as the authoritative performer of Gershwin I was completely unprepared for the heaviness and crudeness and lack of precision in his treatment of both instrument and music. The orchestral part, however, was superb.

Then there was Toscanini's broadcast of Respighi's "Pines of Rome," with its phenomenal concluding crescendo that carried my mind back nineteen years to his memorable first concert with the New York Philharmonic at which I had first heard it. And thinking back further I realized that thirty years had passed since the very first performance I had heard conducted by Toscanini—"Madama Butterfly" with Farrar, in January, 1914. It would be gratifying to recall that at the age of thirteen I knew enough to hear every subsequent performance of his that I could get to; actually it was Farrar's performances that I went to; and all I heard Toscanini do before he left the Metropolitan a year later was a few performances of Giordano's "Mme. Sans-Gêne" in which she sang. Great works, great singers, a great conductor, historic performances—all these were available to me each week; but I went to hear Farrar in Puccini or Giordano or worse.

I did, of course, hear the other singers—either when they appeared with her, or when they appeared at the Sunday concerts which I attended in order to hear Carreño or Busoni or Casals or Hofmann or Kreisler play a concerto and a group of solos. It was at such concerts that I heard Frieda Hempel sing *Ernani, Ernani, involami* and "Voce di primavera" and other things of the sort; and again it would be gratifying to recall that I was as smart as some of the youngsters nowadays are about such matters, and never missed a chance to hear her. Actually, however, I took her only as another singer with a beautiful voice, and only whenever she happened to come along—in a few Sunday concerts, in a "Marriage of Figaro" with Farrar as the Cherubino, Matzenauer as the Countess, De Luca as the Figaro; in a New York Symphony Mozart program; on one of the records which my family acquired with its first phonograph. That was around 1922; and it was in 1934 that, happening to play over this old record of *Deh vieni, non tardar* from "Figaro," I was overwhelmed by the voice, the musicianship, the style I had not appreciated before. A couple of years later I was similarly impressed by some recorded performances of hers that were broadcast by WQXR, especially by the one of *Der Hölle Rache* from "The Magic Flute"; and I acquired her HMV record of *Caro nome* from "Rigoletto" and *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata," which caused me to marvel at the life and character which this music acquired from her brilliance of voice and style. But the climax came last year, when someone played an old and battered Victor record of her performance of an aria from "Les Huguenots," and I heard the supreme example of vocal art of my entire experience. One hears always about Sembrich, Melba, Tetrazzini, never about Hempel; they were, as records testify, extraordinary singers, but she was, I am convinced, the greatest artist of them all.

I wish that when conditions permit Victor would bring out a volume of her recordings. This is the kind of thing a record company is justified in doing only on an advance subscription basis; and I'm ready to put my money down right now.

Edwin Denby has said illuminating things about the poor quality of the Ballet Theater's performances of classic works this season. The trouble, he imagined, came from the change of classic ballerinas. "For a ballerina is not only a super-acrobat with extra publicity. She is also an artist whose performance shows you the heart of a ballet. She sets the tone; the other dancers can add to it but cannot go counter to it; and so her quality is of crucial importance to them. Indeed, company, ballerina, and chief choreographer need to have a sort of affinity, an unconscious confidence in one another if they are to become com-

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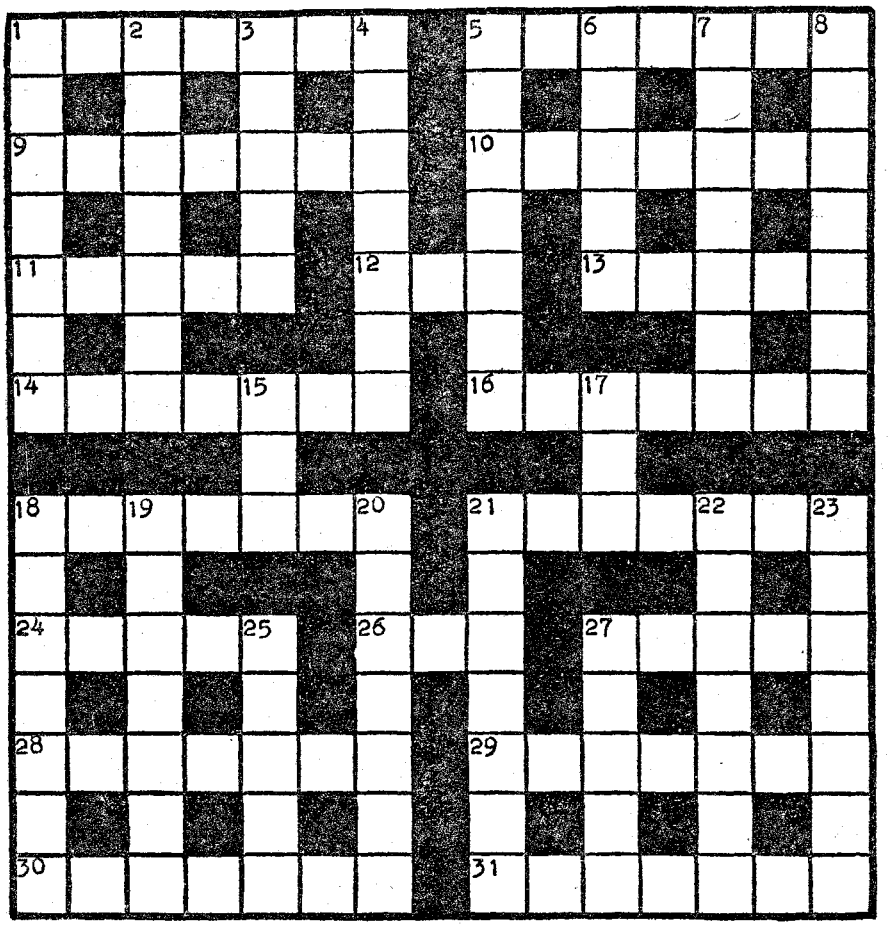
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 88

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The man who buys this gets a rum for his money
5 A waste place
9 Conceited as a hold-up man's victim (hyphen, 5-2)
10 They cut graceful figures on the ice
11 A drug from a fish
12 The villain laughs
13 "Then up spake Peter, one old salt, Salt Peter, bold and true"?
14 A couple of lines making complete sense
16 Not a horse race, though most ran in it
18 Depressing if wet
21 Name that's often first in America, but last in England
24 Can you fathom it?
26 As - - - as a day in June (!)
27 Objection
28 Gets together
29 Lapsed, or relapsed, perhaps
30 Hurried to be seated after tea
31 Old Rose changes her nationality

DOWN

1 But for its head, this bird might be hot stuff
2 You will need these even for a soupcon
3 Toothed tools
4 Try one member apiece
5 In the days of sail, to do this was equivalent to scoring a hit in the engine-room
6 It strikes the visitor as being an African rather than a European country
7 We live in thoughts, not in these, wrote the poet
8 Tom runs for the medicine
15 The same
17 Somerset Maugham wrote of cakes and this
18 Abed most of the night
19 Unfortunate heroine of Fletcher and Beaumont's *The Maid's Tragedy*
20 What the renegade does to his coat? (two words, 5 and 2)
21 It drops its eggs into other birds' nests
22 Good knight—Simon!
23 Rose red screen in a church
25 Caught when laid by them
27 Monasticism was not a healthy sign in him

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 87

ACROSS:—1 ALBUM; 4 QUASIMODO; 9 PANURGE; 10 REGROUP; 11 REST; 12 LIGHT; 13 ROAN; 16 TENDERS; 17 MELISSA; 19 SILICON; 22 BRAISED; 24 RING; 25 TRUTH; 26 JUNO; 29 MOORISH; 30 MOORAGE; 31 TENTACLES; 32 HYENA.

DOWN:—1 ASPIRATES; 2 BENISON; 3 MORE; 4 QUERIES; 5 ABRAHAM; 6 INGE; 7 ODOROUS; 8 ORPEN; 14 PEACH; 15 ALLAH; 18 ANDROMEDA; 20 LINCOLN; 21 NARWHAL; 22 BETIMES; 23 SOUTANE; 24 REMIT; 27 AIDA; 28 MOTH.

pletely effective. The mutual adjustment comes by working together and there is no way of forcing it." The Ballet Theater achieved such an adjustment with Markova; it has not yet achieved it with Toumanova; and for a company accustomed to the lyricism and serenity of Markova this has been made especially difficult by what Toumanova has brought to the same roles. "Miss Toumanova," wrote Denby after her performance in "Giselle," "with her large, handsome, and deadly face, her sword-like toesteps, her firm positions, her vigorous and record-high leg gestures—and with her bold and large style of dancing—by nature makes a very different figure from delicate Miss Markova." The classic performances I have seen have been bad, then, because of the frightful hamming that Toumanova has learned to do in her two years away from ballet, and because of the effect of this hamming on the company. And also its effect on the music: the outrageous distortion of musical phrase that it produced in the second act of "Giselle."

But there is hamming also in the modern works. The chief offender is Kriza, who hurls his chest at the audience on every beat of his drum-solo in "Graduation Ball," and whose similar violent distortion of what Robbins used to do as the Youth in "Three Virgins and a Devil" completes the ruin of that piece in performances nowadays.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

PHILIP MURRAY, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, rose through the ranks of the United Mine Workers. During the last war he was a member of the National Bituminous Coal Production Commission; in 1935 he was a member of the National Industrial Recovery Board and the NRA Advisory Council. He is a registered Republican.

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